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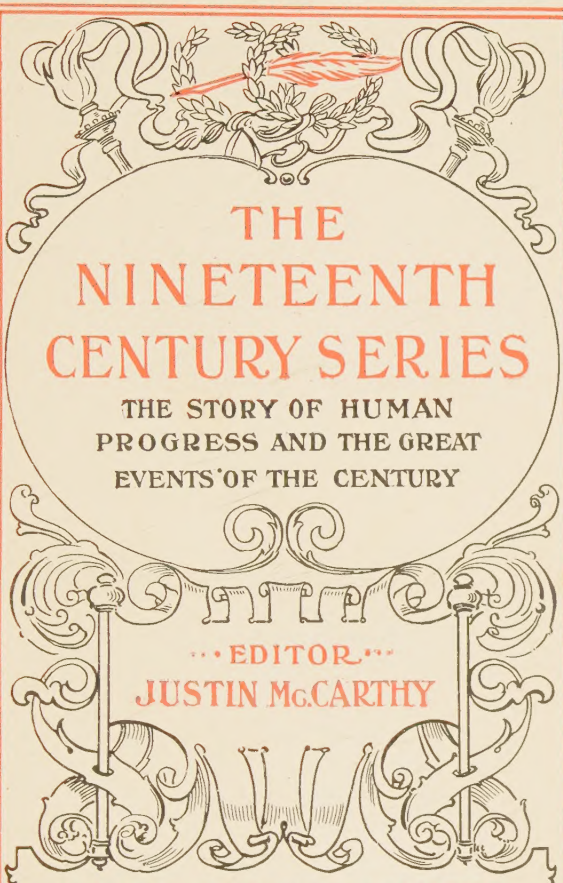

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SERIES

THE STORY OF HUMAN PROGRESS AND THE GREAT EVENTS OF THE CENTURY

EDITOR
JUSTIN McCARTHY

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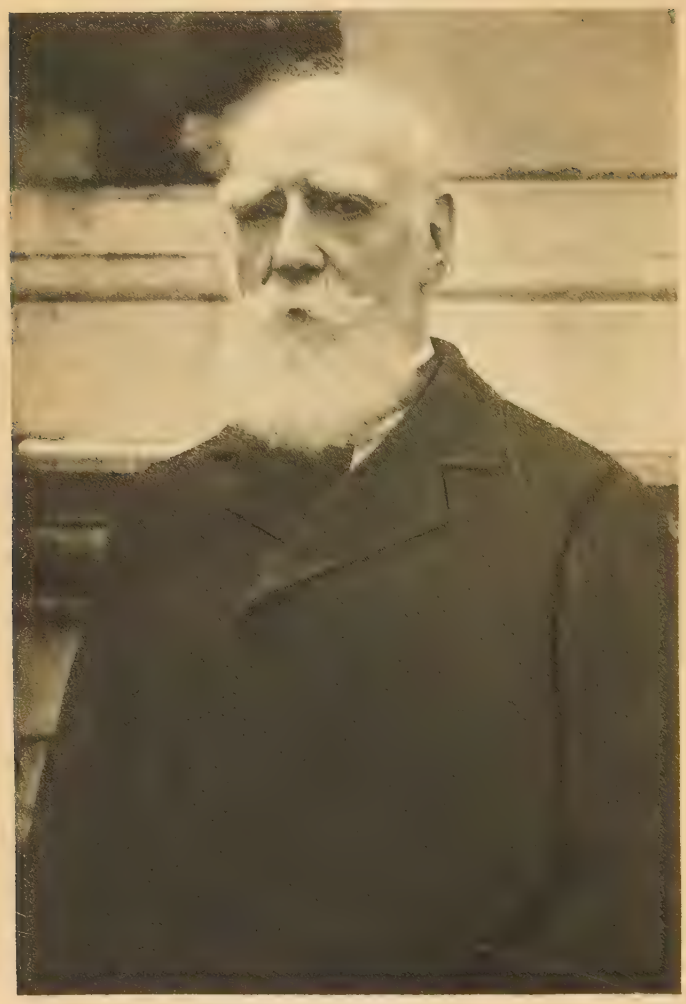

LORD STRATHCONA
AND MOUNT ROYAL.

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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SERIES

VOLUME IX

PROGRESS OF CANADA IN THE CENTURY

—BY—

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

Author of "Life of Sir John Thompson," "Life and Work of Mr. Gladstone," "Life and Reign of Queen Victoria." Editor of "Canada: An Encyclopedia of the Country," in 6 Vols., Etc.

1903

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PREFACE.

Historical writing is too often a mere detailed sketch of campaigns and leaders—political, military or naval. The brilliant deeds of an army chief, the struggles of a party leader, the character of a prominent statesman, the fantasies of some passing demagogue, are given more attention than the pioneer labours of the settlers who founded a nation, the efforts of an entire people to obtain their daily bread, the general characteristics and attainments of the population of a country, or the silent, subtle undercurrents of sentiment which so largely help to make history, to create nations and to control or mould their permanent policy.

In the records of the Provinces which constitute the present Dominion of Canada altogether too much stress has been usually laid upon political struggles and the achievements of party leaders. Francis Parkman, it is true, has done brilliant justice to that stormy and sombre period which preceded the opening of the nineteenth century, and which presents to the eye of the mind so vast a panorama of shadowy forms—Indians and explorers, Jesuits and missionaries, hunters and trappers, soldiers of France and soldiers of England—moving over more

than half a continent in space and through centuries of conflict in time. But when the student of history comes to the more recent period from which Canadian evolution dates, in a modern sense, he finds with some few exceptions that the annals of the country are made to turn primarily upon political considerations—from the standpoint of the experience of to-day and with the logic of present liberties.

To this school of historical thought men of a hundred years ago should have acted exactly as men at the end of this century would act—no matter how different the conditions and environment. To these writers, for instance, the Loyalists were simply a band of Tories bent upon fettering the minds of the people in the swaddling clothes of state-churchism and under the personal control of an interested oligarchy. In the dense clouds of controversy thus raised it has been too often forgotten that they were, incidentally, the founders of the English part of the Canadian commonwealth, the preservers of its youthful institutions from the aggressive influence of United States democracy, the conservators of British ideals and principles in this northern part of the American continent, the sufferers from pioneer hardships, dangers and difficulties, so severe and so numerous as to have merited for them a permanent place in any Valhalla of the world's patriotism. So also with other important matters.

In the pages which follow I have therefore laid more stress upon pioneer labours in the field and

farm than upon political contests and have attached more importance to the development of education and religion, or the progress of transportation facilities, than to the political views of Mackenzie and Papineau, or Macdonald and Brown. Through the volume will also be found a thread of thought which I believe to be essential to a full comprehension of Canada's peculiar development—the struggle between American and British principles of government, methods of administration, modes of public thought, popular characteristics and national influence.

This view of Canadian history must, however, speak for itself in a necessarily compressed and condensed story. I have only to express, in conclusion, the indebtedness which every writer upon Canadian matters in the present century—whether he agrees with the opinions which they express or not—must feel to the pages of Kingsford, Bourinot, Dent, Garneau, Bouchette, Todd, Roberts, Jameson, Heriot, Major Richardson, Weld, Bonnycastle, Warburton, Withrow, Morgan, Bryce, William Smith, McMullen, Begg, Boulton, Christie, Murdoch, Strickland, Ross Robertson, MacBeth, Canniff, Davin, Stewart, J. George Hodgins, Scadding, LeMoine, Lord Selkirk, Lambert, Sulte, Galt, Hall, Howison, Casgrain, Rattray, Brymner, Dawson, Fennings Taylor, Ross, Buckingham, Pope, Johnson, Egerton Ryerson, D'Arcy McGee and Hamilton Gray.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

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Photogravure from a photograph by Topley, Ottawa.

PROGRESS OF CANADA IN THE CENTURY.

PART ONE.

FORMATION OF THE PROVINCES, 1800–1841.

CHAPTER I.

THREE CENTURIES OF PRECEDING HISTORY.

On the second of May, 1497, a little vessel of some sixty tons burthen sailed from the port of Bristol. Pacing her deck and, with eyes of hope, gazing across the stormy, unknown wastes of the North Atlantic, was a man upon whose action turned centuries of historic struggle and the evolution of vast empires in a new world. It is true that the Vikings of five hundred years before had passed like shadows over the same seas, and that five years in advance of this lonely sailor Columbus had touched the island-fringe of the new continent. But it remained for John Cabot to first reach the shores of what afterwards became British North America and to

give an impetus to the naval and colonising enterprise of England which, at a later period, led to the settling of Nova Scotia, the foundation of New England, the century of conflict with New France, and the great panorama of sombre and blood-stained history which those events produced.

Little, however, of all this could the gallant mariner have foreseen or even imagined. He reached Newfoundland (or, as an increasing number of authorities believe, the Island of Cape Breton) in June, explored the coast for some days, and then returned to England to meet with nothing but ingratitude from Henry VII. and four centuries of forgetfulness from the world. Sebastian Cabot, his son, crossed the same wild waters in the succeeding year and explored the whole coast from Hudson's Straits to Nova Scotia. Others rapidly followed, including Verrazano and Cortereal, and soon the cod fisheries of Newfoundland had attracted large numbers of sturdy English sailors. But even yet no conception of what lay beyond these islands and water-indented shores seems to have existed. Cabot was as ignorant in this respect as Columbus. The importance of his service lies, therefore, in the fact that his lonely voyage in a tiny vessel over unknown seas was under the authorisation and charter of an English Sovereign, and that by virtue of this circumstance, as well as because of his explorations, he holds the first place upon the known pages of Canadian history. In 1542, Verrazano declared the

whole region from Carolina to the Gulf of St. Lawrence annexed to the dominions of France, and eleven years later Jacques Cartier appeared on the scene as the pioneer of French discovery and exploration—entering the Canada* of the future by the gates of the St. Lawrence. Past the sombre portals of the Saguenay, the gloomy heights of Cape Tourmente, the beautiful Isle-au-Coudres and L'Isle d'Orleans, sailed the small ships of the St. Malo navigator until he reached the famous promontory afterwards crowned by the Citadel of Quebec and enshrined in the history of two great races. Here he found the wigwams of Stadacona—an Indian chief. Later on Cartier reached Hochelaga (now Montreal) and stood upon an elevation which he

* There are at least five suggested derivations for this name. 1. From the Algonquin word meaning "welcome" and supposed to have been used by the Indians when they first met Cartier. 2. From the Iroquois word "Canatha" meaning a collection of huts and applied by the Algonquins to their chief town. 3. From the Spanish word "Acanada" meaning "There is nothing there" and referring to the absence of gold on the coast of the St. Lawrence Gulf. 4. From the Portuguese word "Canada" meaning "narrow passage" and referring to the sudden and striking narrowing of the waters at Cape Diamond. 5. Cordeiro's claim that the word is Basque for "Canal" or narrow passage. The second suggestion is the popular one, but the fourth is the most probable. It embodies a fact quickly visible to explorers and sailors as well as to Indians and is a word common to both the Spanish and Portuguese languages, while it is said to have the same meaning as the Indian word "Kebec," or Quebec—now applied to the Province through which the great river runs.

termed Mount Royal, and from which he gazed over a vast unknown region already flaming with the exquisite colours of autumn and preparing for the terrors of a winter which he and his men were soon to encounter in such measure as to prevent many of them from ever again seeing the shores of sunny France.

It is little wonder indeed that Europeans long had a horror of the climate of Canada, or that Louis the Fourteenth should have spurned it in a moment of disgust as "nothing more than a few arpents of snow and ice." Through all the narratives of early exploration and settlement; in the three voyages of Cartier and during the prolonged efforts of Champlain to colonise and conquer; throughout the tragic experiences of De Monts upon the Nova Scotian coast, De Roberval on the shores of the St. Lawrence, De la Roque in bleak and barren Sable Island, or Poutrincourt and Pontgravé on the coasts of Acadie; there runs the common tale of intense suffering from the cold, of entire ignorance of winter conditions, and of an almost complete absence of warm clothing or medicines with which to meet the requirements of a new and strange climate. Lessons seem never to have been learned, and the experience of one settler or explorer appears to have been practically useless to his successors. Despite these natural difficulties, however, Champlain founded Quebec in 1608 in the shadow of a towering rock, and endeavoured to evolve for France an empire in the New World.

And, until his death in 1633, the "father" of French Canada fought a battle of the most extraordinary kind with almost every obstacle which nature and man could place in his path. He carried his little colony through all the difficulties of local rivalries, fur-trade abuses, national indifference, official intrigue and the blood-darkened shadow of savage life; while at the same time exploring the interior and discovering Lakes Huron, Ontario and Nipissing. But, while Champlain's policy and explorations brought the existence of a continent into the practical knowledge of the world and his settlements laid the foundation of New France, he also was reluctantly and unavoidably embroiled in a conflict with the Iriquois which resulted in over a hundred years of the most barbaric and at the same time picturesque warfare recorded in all history.

The origin of the North American Indian * is shrouded in impenetrable gloom. His personality looms out from a lurid background of tortured whites, flame-lit settlements and battling pioneers. His character comes to us, imbedded in the literature of a hostile and conquering race, as being the embodiment of cruelty and savagery. Yet that mysterious figure was in many respects a noble one. Cold and hard in character, passionate and revengeful in temper, ignorant and superstitious in belief,

* So called by Columbus in 1492 from the belief that the island natives whom he first saw in the Bahamas were living near the shores of Asia.

keen and quick in thought, the Indian was never, in the days prior to his period of decadence, guilty of the effieminate and meaner vices which have destroyed peoples such as the Roman and the Moor. Love of liberty in its wilder forms and contempt for all arbitrary rule or personal control he carried to an extreme greater than can be anywhere paralleled. Sleepless suspicion of others was a natural part of his surroundings of war and treachery. Like the Italian he preferred to send a secret blow, or despatch the shaft of an ambushed arrow, to open fighting or public revenge. Like the Spaniard he was dark and sinister in his punishments and retaliations. Like nearly all savage races his warfare was one of sudden and secret surprise, ruthless and unhesitating slaughter.

Nature had cast the Indian in a noble mould and given him a vast and splendid environment. That he was ignorant of his opportunities and subservient to the passions of pride and cruelty were perhaps misfortunes more than they were faults. Compared with the greater knowledge, the gentler faith, the more cultured surroundings, the kindlier home-life of the white man, his chances were very slight and his sins not so lurid as their flaming background might imply. The curious federal system of the Iroquois, and the characters of Pontiac, Tecumseh and Thayendenagea indicate his individual capabilities under favourable circumstances, or when raised by the white man's sympathy and support instead of

degraded by the use of his fire-water and the practice of his immoralities. The Indian was the product of nature, the outcome of wilderness conditions, the result of long and continuous struggle with the forces of extreme heat and cold and of contact with the wild, free vagaries of a wandering forest life. Somewhat like the Tartar of Central Asia he was as a rule tall and slender and agile in form, with face bronzed by sun and rain and winds. His expression was stern and sombre, seldom or never marked by a smile. His head had high cheek-bones, small, sunken and keenly flashing eyes, narrow forehead, thick lips, a somewhat flat nose and coarse hair. The senses of sight and sound and feeling were developed into a sort of forest instinct which seemed almost supernatural to the early white settlers.

The Iroquois, with whom Champlain first came face to face in the inauguration of a drama which had a continent for its stage and a century for its enactment, were at once the best and the worst of all the Indian nations. Their pride was intense and over-mastering, their lust of conquest was individually as strong as that of Alexander or Napoleon, their savage passions and cruelties were vented in an indescribable degree upon their enemies. Yet in courage, constancy and concentrated energy it would be difficult to find their equal as a people. And where they inflicted pain they were equally ready to endure it. They included the Mohawks, Oneidas,

Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and afterwards the Tuscaroras, in what was practically a loose federation of nations stretching across the wide lake region and through what was destined to become the State of New York and the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. In their day of greatest power the Iroquois warriors never numbered more than four thousand men, though they became a thought of terror to all the tribes from the rolling waters of the St. Lawrence to the sunny slopes of Carolina and from the far West to the Atlantic shores. The kindred races of the Neutrals, the Andastes, the Eries and the Hurons had all by 1680 been practically wiped out of existence by this organisation of savage strength. To the French Colonists they also became a veritable scourge of Satan, a source of untold suffering and sorrow. So in a lesser degree with tribes further south and west and the English Colonists of the seaboard.

Yet with all the vivid tokens of Indian life and character which are stamped across the pages of Canadian and continental history it is probable that the vast wastes of North America never saw more than 200,000 savages at any one period. Their wandering and harsh mode of life and their continuous wars prevented the otherwise natural increase in numbers. It would require many volumes to describe their struggles with the encroaching and over-mastering white man. At first his friend and savage admirer, the Indian might have been readily

brought under the influence of genuine Christianity and honest civilisation. But from the initial deception of Cartier in kidnapping the Chief Donnacona, through all the painful scenes of brandy poisoning by unscrupulous fur-traders, until step by step the one-time Colonists of the east had taken possession of his territory through the heart and west of the continent and given him in return a few barren Reserves and scanty rations, the Indian was the victim of commercial greed where he was not the tool of one or the other of two great rival nations in a world-encircling struggle for supremacy. Little wonder that, in moments of unreasoning and passionate rage, massacres and raids should make the horizon blaze with the light of burning homes, fill the air with the cries of dying and tortured settlers, turn the hearts of French soldiers into water behind the fortifications of Montreal and Quebec and make even populous centres in the Province of New York realise the feeling of fear.

It was not the fault of the mysterious Order of Jesus if the Indians of North America were unredeemed from savagery. So far as Canada was concerned the Jesuits were the pioneers of religion, the pathfinders of territorial power. Over all the vast countries from the confines of Hudson's Bay to the heart of the Mississippi Valley they carried with alternate failure and success the banner of the Cross. To these black-robed missionaries of a great Order and of a dominating and indomitable

Church no self-sacrifice was too great, no suffering too painful, no hardship too severe, if but one savage child were baptised into the faith, or the passions of a solitary Indian modified by the influence of persuasion and the power of Christian hope. Especially in the country between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe—now a rich agricultural region of the Province of Ontario—the gloomy forests of the middle of the seventeenth century echoed with the prayers of wandering priests and often blazed with the martyr-fires of their execution by the merciless Iroquois or vacillating Huron. Often, too, those lonely aisles of nature's primeval church witnessed scenes of torture such as the pen must fail to adequately describe and even imagination to fully understand. Daniel, Brébœuf, Lalemant, Garnier, Garreux, Buteaux, Chabanet, thus wrote their names across the pages of early Canadian history in letters illumined by the light of a great sacrifice.

The only immediate result was the nominal conversion of the Huron nation—a people wiped almost out of existence by subsequent Iroquois raids. The ultimate result was some amelioration of the savage character in respect to tortures practised in time of war. That the marvellous work performed by these Jesuit priests was not more successful is due chiefly to the barbarism of the Christian rivals who were for a hundred years afterwards struggling for the possession of the continent. The labours of the missionary, the teachings of Christianity, all the

stately trappings of solemn ceremonial, were of little avail in comparison with the practice of an international hate which dictated the use of the uncivilised Indian as a weapon of warfare against another, and a civilised, foe. If, however, the labours of the Order of Jesus were fruitful of little amongst the savages of what is now Ontario but personal sacrifice and a prolonged tale of heroic sorrow, they were more effective amidst the scattered settlements of French civilisation in the Maritime Provinces. Throughout historic Acadie priests such as Fathers Biard and Massé worked long and earnestly amongst the settlers and the Indians. In centres such as Montreal and Quebec also stately buildings of stone grew up emblematic of the ambitious policy of this and other religious Orders, while, early in the history of New France, women of sacrificial soul such as Madame de la Peltrie, Marie de l'Incarnation, Mdlle. Mance and Marguerite Bourgeois helped in founding institutions of religion, charity and education. Thus it was that the policy of Richelieu—the establishment of a powerful French and Catholic state upon the American continent—was commenced; and it would probably have been consummated had statesmen such as the great Cardinal and the gifted Colbert continued to rule in France.

But this vast though fluctuating scheme of French dominion—embracing thousands of miles of lake and river, pathless prairies and trackless forests, and reaching from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico

and from the far unknown wastes of the West to the Alleghanies—was destined to be checked by the onward sweep of the little English Colonies upon the Atlantic and crushed by the march of English conquest through the heart of the continent and the guns of English soldiers upon the ramparts of Louisbourg and the Heights of Quebec. The struggle was a peculiar one. Kindling with fierce heat amidst the forests of America at the first signal of war in Europe; often blazing into local conflicts spread over a vast area while their respective nations were nominally at peace; sharing the passions of European pride and rivalry with the added impulse of Provincial boundary disputes, commercial conflicts and Indian blood-stained surprises; the struggles of these alien races stationed respectively upon the shores of the St. Lawrence and the coasts of the Atlantic were of a character vitally different from the better known conflicts of personal ambitions, religious principles, or dynastic claims, which have so reddened the pages of European history.

Battles in North America from the beginning of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries did not resemble military conflicts elsewhere. No such splendid natural setting for the contest between France and England which belted the world and included in its scope the victories of Clive, the career of Frederick the Great, the triumph of Wolfe and the rise of Washington, was anywhere else provided. During much of the period when the respective

Mother Countries were at war *—and frequently when they were resting and recuperating during an interval of apparent peace—the broad aisles of a primeval forest, the stormy waters of immense inland seas, the untrodden mazes of an illimitable wilderness, constituted the environment of a determined struggle. The history of the founding of Port Royal (now Annapolis in Nova Scotia) by the gallant De Monts; the establishment of Montreal by De Maisonneuve (1642); the prolonged battle for existence by Quebec; the strife of Charnisey and De la Tour in Acadie; the gallant dash of Iberville Le Moyne upon the northern regions around Hudson's Bay and his destruction of English forts and ships; the expeditions against the English of New York organised by the brilliant mind and determined energy of Frontenac; the Acadian invasion by Sir William Phipps of Massachusetts; the sieges of Louisbourg and Quebec and the oft-repeated struggles around Forts Niagara, Ticonderoga and Duquesne; present some of the most tragic and dramatic scenes ever described by pen or brush.

Around and about the opposing forces echoed the war-whoop of the savage. Over the head of the beaten white man—French or English—rested the

* The dates of these wars, so far as Europe was concerned, were as follows: From 1689 to the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697; from 1702 to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713; from 1744 to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748; from 1756 to the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

shadow of the scalping-knife. The tramp of armed men and the roar of European guns were often preceded by the axe of the woodman and by a path cut through the depths of the forest, so that the flag of England and the flag of France might "wave in war's alternate chance" over regions known only to the wandering Indian, the adventurous *voyageur,* or the occasional hunter and trapper. It was in fact a battle of giants in an area so vast and varied as to defy the knowledge or the imagination of the contestants themselves. Yet even when the armies of Amherst had completed the victory of Wolfe upon the Heights of Quebec in 1759 and forced the surrender of Montreal, the French population of Canada did not exceed 80,000, as opposed to the New England Colonies with three millions of people backed by the might of England. For over 150 years New France had maintained a desperate struggle against frightful odds, and at the last the strange blending of martial spirit, aristocratic courage and religious enthusiasm which had held half a continent for the Church and Crown of France was conquered as much by the miserable corruption of Bigot and other mercenary rulers as it was by the skill and vigour of the English. Still, the result was inevitable sooner or later. Despite the unscrupulous gallantry of Frontenac, the far-reaching schemes of Denonville, the careful administration of the first Vaudreuil, of Talon and of De Courcelles, the untiring energy of Montcalm and the spirited struggle of De

Lévis, the military power of New France was never in a position to really cope with the organised forces of Old and New England. This was shown by the capture of Louisbourg in 1745. And, despite the undaunted courage and constancy of the French settlers who in a few hundreds, and then in a few thousands, bordered the pathless woods with civilised homes and made the wilderness echo with Christian hymns and prayers, it could never be a serious question as to who would win in the end. Daulac des Ormeaux might, in 1660, take his sixteen youthful comrades down to the rapids of the Longue Sault, on the Ottawa, and hold, for eight days and at the sacrifice of their lives, the passage to Montreal against a thousand Iroquois warriors. Frontenac might for a time in the next century hold both the Indians and the English in check. Montcalm might defeat his foes at Oswego, at Fort William Henry and at Ticonderoga. But the one only illustrated French heroism as the others did French military skill and bravery. They could not really compete with the slow, irresistible movement of English colonising strength or the irrepressible force of the English commercial instinct. Up the valleys of the Mohawk and the Ohio advanced the pioneers of a coming host, and the eastern slope of the Alleghanies heard the axe of the English settler even while Céleron de Bienville was burying plates of lead down through the heart of the continent and marking what he fondly hoped would prove the boundaries of a vast French empire.

During this period the French had, however, won a crown of honour as pioneer explorers. Following Champlain's discoveries of Lakes Huron, Nipissing and Ontario, the River Ottawa and the lake which bears his name, Lake Michigan had been first seen by Jean Brèbéuf in 1634, Lake Erie by Chaumonot and Brèbéuf in 1640, and Lake Superior by some unknown *Coureurs-des-bois* in 1659. The upper waters of the Mississippi were first sighted by Father Marquette and M. Joliette on June 17th, 1673, while a little later La Salle made his prolonged and gallant efforts to explore the great region watered by that river or its affluents. In 1678 Father Hennepin stood upon the shores of the roaring cataract at Niagara, as Father Albanal in 1671 had been the first European to discover from land the stormy and sombre waters of the far northern sea in which Henry Hudson over a century before had met his death. In 1731, De la Verendrye explored the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and eleven years later his son was the first European to see from the prairies the mighty summits of the Rockies. Meanwhile the spirit of English discovery and maritime enterprise which Cabot first embodied, so far as the American continent was concerned, did not remain long dormant. Sir Martin Frobisher in 1576 landed for a hasty moment on the bleak shores of Labrador. Sir Francis Drake in the succeeding year caught a glimpse of the lofty snow-clad warders of the coast of British Columbia—which in 1778 was explored

by Captain Cook. Sir Humphrey Gilbert visited Newfoundland in 1583. In the far North-West, towards the close of the next century, Samuel Hearne explored the great rivers and lakes between Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Ocean, while Sir Alexander Mackenzie discovered the noble river which bears his name and was the first white man to penetrate the Rocky Mountains and reach the Pacific Coast.

Towards the close of the continental struggle between the French and English races occurred an incident which Longfellow has crowned with a halo of romance and history has marked as one of peculiar character and interest. The Acadians of 1755 were a people of many virtues—though these have been greatly exaggerated. They were industrious, moral, and as a rule peaceable. But they were essentially French in patriotism and policy despite the forty years, and more, during which they had lived and multiplied in numbers, and prospered in position, under the British Crown. From the acquisition of Acadie (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and part of Maine) in 1713 until the founding of Halifax in 1749 (at a cost to the Imperial Government of £400,000 in five years) these French subjects had been treated with all generosity and forbearance. They were even permitted a special oath of allegiance which did not compel them to bear arms against the French of Quebec. But none the less were all their sympathies with the latter. In many this feeling was passive; in

probably a majority it was active. And the most of them refused to take the modified oath. When, therefore, Fort Beauséjour—a frontier post—was captured from a mixed force of French and Acadians in 1755 and an invasion of the Province was threatened from Quebec, with the probable support of many thousands of people within his own borders, Governor Lawrence took alarm and decided upon the determined measure which has made him, rather unjustly, one of the best-hated characters in Canadian history.

First, however, he called together deputies from the chief Acadian settlements at Minas, Grand Pré and Annapolis and warned them that their people must either take an unconditional oath of allegiance or be exiled. They declined to do so and rested for a brief period in the ever-present hope that their fellow-countrymen would succour them in the end. And then the order went forth. From far and near the hopeless and helpless families were brought to the sea-coast and placed, with their movable possessions, upon vessels which bore them away to be scattered amidst the population of the Thirteen Colonies. From Pennsylvania to Georgia, and even in England and the West Indies, they could be found beginning life anew with every opportunity to mourn over the folly which had made them forget the stern necessities of a bitter and protracted international conflict. Every care was taken to prevent the breaking up of families, but it was inevitable

that in the enforced exile of upwards of 6,000 people many incidents of extreme suffering should occur and that scenes of pathetic separation should be witnessed. Hundreds wandered back again only to find their homes destroyed or in the possession of aliens. But with a passionate love for their native soil they founded other homes within the bounds of historic Acadie, and, in conjunction with those who had been willing originally to take the part of loyal citizens, became the root of a future population of one hundred thousand contented and prosperous British subjects. By this step, heartless as it has been deemed, Lawrence cleared his skirts of a hostile population which hemmed in the British settlements and hampered, where it did not paralyse, British policy and action in Nova Scotia. Eight years later the long struggle of which this was merely an incident came to its official end by the Treaty of 1763 —though the captures of Quebec in 1795 and Montreal in 1760 might be considered its practical termination.

Wolfe's famous victory did more than win the greater part of the continent for Great Britain. It made the United States possible. Had the leader who toiled up the Heights on that eventful night with his gallant army been able to look but a few years into the future it is probable that much of the fire of victory would have gone out of his heart, and much of the happiness of his last moments been marred. No sooner was French power removed

from the continent than Colonial pride and aggressiveness of sentiment visibly increased. It was not, in too many cases, the independence which might have said to Great Britain as Canada does to-day: "I can stand beside you as an equal." It was rather the independence which declares that "I can stand without you and in defiance of you." The shadow of centuries had been removed, and the Colonists came in time to hate the British soldiers who had once been their powerful allies in war and their guardians in so-called periods of peace. Wolfe had indeed won a continent for the Crown, but it remained for some unprincipled agitators in the Colonies, combined with ignorant or nerveless leaders at home, to within a few years destroy much of the value of his victory so far as British power was concerned. To blame the King for it all is a travesty upon history, a complete perversion of fact. Equally so is the assertion made in so many American works, and the belief entertained by many who are not Americans, that the British masses were at the back of the insurgent Colonists. Still more so is the inference drawn by the popular writers of to-day from the historical literature of that period that, of necessity, the adherents of revolution were patriots and the adherents of the Crown traitors. Even more absurd is the widespread belief that Chatham favoured complete separation and that Fox was a great patriot struggling solely for liberty and inspired only by a passionate desire for its extension.

During the years immediately following Wolfe's victory upon the Heights of Abraham, and the bonfires which blazed for the last time on the hills of New England in honour of a British success, the history of the Thirteen Colonies is a medley of misunderstandings, mistakes and misgovernment. England had poured out blood and treasure like water for her Colonies, and she naturally thought that they should make some return. The English peasant was being taxed to defend his fellow-subjects in America against foreign enemies and because of Indian forays often brought on by local inability to deal justly and honestly with the untutored red man. The American Colonist, on the other hand, was without representation at home, though not without the powerful sympathy of Chatham and Burke and ultimately Fox. He was the victim of unjust commercial laws which restricted his progress and hampered his prosperity. He was, especially in New England, the product of a migration which made each man believe in personal liberty as something equal in sacredness to his religion and his Bible.

The feeling in England resulted in the Stamp Act—afterwards repealed; in legislation enforcing the collection of revenues from customs duties which then formed part of the established law of the realm, and which at first the Colonists did not dispute in principle though they disliked them in practice; in taxes upon products such as tea and molasses and in active efforts to prevent the wholesale smuggling

which was going on. It is easy now to see that all this English interference with the internal affairs of the Colonies was a mistake, but it is equally clear that in principle it was not wrong. There were then no precedents to go upon in the government of distant dependencies, nor was there any pronounced comprehension at home as to what the Colonists really wanted. Self-government was hardly as much a fact in the England of that day as it was in the Provinces of New York or Georgia. George the Third believed that the Colonies should do something, no matter how little, in return for all that England had done for them. Theoretically many did not dispute this, practically they repudiated all obligation when it came to the test. No doubt the wrong method was adopted; equally beyond doubt the hostility aroused and the disloyalty displayed by a section of the population from 1765 to 1776 was far beyond the causes alleged. Had a feeling of sympathy, or even friendship upon general grounds, existed in the minds of the aggressive Colonial minority towards England in those years, the rebellion need never have occurred. It did exist among the majority, and might have been enormously developed by wisdom in government and by an earlier enforcement of King George's belief that in the interest of England and the Empire the union must be preserved. Under such circumstances the unjust commercial laws and the unwise schemes of taxation would not have sufficed to light the flames of revolution.

But the King was badly advised and weakly supported. He had Ministers at home such as Lord George Germaine, the Colonial Secretary—perhaps the most criminally incapable man who ever wielded great power at a critical juncture—and the intense opposition to his Government of men like Burke and Fox and others, who appeared entirely indifferent to the retention of the Colonies if they could make a point against the sometimes arbitrary and personal rule of the Sovereign in England. Hence the mistaken popular idea that the question at issue in America involved the progress of liberty at home. And every word of indirect support that the lawless element in the Colonies received from the eloquent exponents of theories in England weakened the hands of the King and of his administrators abroad, until mobs in New York and Boston and other American centres assumed practically the control of government, and the Royal representatives could neither enforce the laws, use their troops, nor command respect. Out of such conditions revolution naturally grew.

There is indeed little to be proud of on either side during the miserable years which preceded the Declaration of Independence. If there was irresolution and ignorance at home, and blundering in the Royal administration of the Colonies, there was much of demagoguery and interested falsehood in the statements and agitations prevalent in America. The British regulations regarding the Indians were wise and honourable, but to the American Colo-

nists, who neither then nor since have been able to treat the red men with the impartiality of justice, they caused intense dissatisfaction. This fact is illustrated in the almost unanimous adhesion of the Indians to England when the war came. Enforcement of the laws against smuggling cannot fairly be denounced. The law might be bad, but while it remained on the statute book it should be observed. And there were two sides even to the question of commercial regulations. When Canada lost a modified form of them in 1846 the result was almost bankruptcy. For twenty years after the Revolution and the obtaining of complete liberty of trade, the United States was also in a deplorable commercial condition. But, however that may be, all the indignation and hostility caused by this and other items in account were given full vent in the final denunciation of the Stamp Act. The latter was a simple enough means of taxation, and surely, had moderate counsels prevailed, some compromised method of contributing to the Imperial exchequer might easily have been reached. The better men, such as Washington, were willing, but those of the type of Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry would admit of no arrangement.

When the latter as a slaveholder, who until the day of his death owned and bought and sold slaves, denounced the tyranny of the King—who in all this question of Colonial taxation embodied the wishes of a parliamentary and popular majority at

home—and asked whether life was so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be "purchased at the price of chains and slavery," he voiced the feeling of those who wanted separation upon any pretext whatever. And when he declaimed his famous words, "Give me liberty or give me death," he simply represented the class of demagogues who were striving to develop difficulties into cause for a hopeless and permanent division of the race and to pave the way for the war and devastation of ten years later. When Thomas Paine, the storm centre of so much international lawlessness, crime and misery, issued his famous pamphlet entitled *Common Sense*—which stirred up all the bad blood and ignorant prejudices of a scattered people—he did an injury to the peace and Christian growth of the world which his personal hatred of Christianity could not have effected in a thousand years of direct denunciation.

It is said that separation was inevitable. No greater mistake or misstatement was ever made. Upon this belief was afterwards founded the Manchester School theory that Colonies are like ripe fruit and must eventually drop from the parent stem. Canada and other great countries have proved the idea to be false, and had the principles of popular government advanced as far and as quickly in England as they had in America in 1775, all the discontent of factions and the demagogism of individuals could not have brought on the war. But, unfortunately, English public opinion was still a

halting power, and though Chatham at one time might have saved the union, he was never given the chance, and Burke and Fox were often more intent on party advantage than national good. There were periods during the war itself when vigour in the field and wisdom in council would have averted disasters, conciliated public sentiment, rallied the Loyalists, and depressed the battling Colonists to the point of military submission, but ultimate constitutional victory.

Speculation of this kind is of little avail now, but history has its lessons, and this period was a very important one for Canada as well as the rest of the continent. Certainly the better class of the American leaders did not want separation, and it is an extraordinary fact, admitted by American writers like Sabine, that up to the day when the sound of the guns at Lexington "echoed around the world" the idea of independence was kept so much in the background as to be practically out of sight in the popular discussions. Franklin himself declared a few days after that opening shot in the Revolution that he had more than once travelled almost from one end of the continent to the other and kept a variety of company, eating, drinking and conversing freely with every one, and "never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for separation or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America." Thomas Jefferson stated that, before the

commencement of hostilities, "I never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain; and often that its possibility was contemplated with affliction by all." Washington and Jay have made similar statements, whilst James Madison, in 1776, declared that "a re-establishment of the colonial relations to the parent country, as they were previous to the controversy, was the real object of every class of the people" at the beginning of the war.

These utterances indicate that the better class of the leaders were deceived by the demagogues with whom they were associated into action which made retreat impossible and attempted separation certain —or else that they were themselves deceiving the public. They prove the strong, logical and patriotic position of the Loyalists, who fought against what even their opponents declared to be undesirable until the war had begun. They reveal the shocking injustice and cruelty of the treatment accorded to the "Tories" for opposing what Washington referred to in October, 1774, when he said, "I am well satisfied that no such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in all North America." It is the fashion nowadays to pervert history and facts by unstinted laudation of every one connected with the victorious side of this contest and equally unstinted condemnation of all who opposed the movements which resulted in the Revolution. Yet George the Third was no more the tyrant which

he is described as being in the Declaration of Independence and in Fourth of July orations of a succeeding century than Abraham Lincoln was the character which Southerners in later days painted him. If the King wanted to retain some control over his Colonies in times when the modern form of constitutional government was only in its preliminary stages of little understood evolution—and when, in England itself, he had more or less complete control over his Ministers—he cannot be properly called a tyrant. Nor can he fairly be denounced for a desire to retain his Empire unbroken.

When he wrote to Lord North on June 13th, 1781, that "we have the greatest objects to make us zealous in our pursuit, for we are contending for our whole consequence, whether we are to rank amongst the great Powers or be reduced to one of the least considerable," he had surely as patriotic a basis for action as any ruler in history. Throughout his long struggle with incompetent Ministers, periods of personal mental aberration, politicians who cared more for partisanship than for empire, foreign enemies who soon included France and Spain and Holland as well as the revolted Colonies, relations such as his eldest son, who tried to make his Court a pandemonium, he yet held to his faith and hope as truly as did Lincoln in his long after struggle for national unity. Writing to Lord North on November 3d, 1781, the King again declared that "I feel the justice of our cause; I put the greatest confidence

in the valour of both army and navy, and, above all, in the assistance of Divine Providence."

But his hopes of Empire were not to be realised except in another age and under very different conditions. Let it be repeated, however, as it should be remembered, that the faults of George the Third were those of the age in which he lived; that his virtues and patriotism were purely his own and stand out brightly amid most gloomy surroundings; that his mistakes of administration in the Colonies were due in the main to inefficient officials there or at home; that the pages of English history do not show him a tyrant in any form but merely a strong-willed ruler of the day with certain unfortunate personal prejudices which had nothing to do directly with the American Colonies. He certainly held the respect of his people in the British Isles, and no amount of misfortune or the vituperation of American literature has ever lost him this. Even John Wesley at that time lectured the Colonists on the wickedness of their insurrection and declared that "our sins shall never be removed until we fear God and honour the King." Yet the founder of Methodism has never been denounced for thus giving support to "a tyrant." The fact is that the King represented his country and Parliament throughout this struggle, and can therefore in no sense be truthfully called by that name—or if so, only in the way in which the same phrase might be applied to Lincoln. One, however, failed, and the other succeeded.

So much for the environment of the Revolution. It may be summed up in a sentence or two. A well-intentioned King in conflict with the Whigs and Radicals at home. A Tory Ministry composed of men who could not understand the fact that they had to do with a people in America who by the very circumstances of their migration and birth were advanced Radicals in their views and intensely jealous of their liberties. A Colonial population divided into an aristocratic class of office-holders, large landowners and gentry, a second and larger class of merchants and traders, a third class of farmers and mechanics. The first was strongly British, the second gradually became anti-British, the third was divided even to the end of the war, with a tendency at first amongst the farmers, of the southern Provinces especially, to remain loyal. They had not suffered like the commercial classes from the taxing and anti-smuggling laws.

But the war came, and the mask of seeking a redress of grievances—which they increased by inflammatory appeals to prejudice and passion—was removed from the faces of many a strutting patriot. Others, of sincerity and honour, entered upon the struggle with regret but with a pluck and determination which laughed at difficulties. Lexington and Bunker's Hill were followed by the invasion of Canada and the defeat of Arnold and Montgomery before Quebec on the last day of the year 1775. The determined energy and incessant resourcefulness

of Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) saved Canada to the Crown and would have probably preserved the Thirteen Colonies had he been placed in command at New York. Sir William Johnson and the Iroquois distinguished themselves on the side of the King, while everywhere throughout the area of revolt large bands of Loyalists struggled to maintain their cause in the teeth of neglect and discouragement and despite the criminal incompetence of Sir William Howe, the British Commander-in-Chief. Then came the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, the declaration of war against Great Britain by France and Spain and Holland, the capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781 and the Peace of Versailles in 1783.

By this Treaty, England in a moment of generosity—combined with ignorance of the value of the territory—made a present to the new Republic of all the great fertile region stretching down through the Ohio Valley, and hitherto forming a part of Canada. This friendliness was carried so far as to diplomatically aid the United States in obtaining Louisiana from France in 1803. A little later Florida was bought from Spain. Thus rounded out in territorial power the Thirteen Colonies started upon their career of independent nationality with practically no competitors upon the continent except a hundred thousand French-Canadians strung along the banks of the St. Lawrence, or settled in the wilds of Nova Scotia, and less than half that

number of emigrant Loyalists scattered through the forests of Upper Canada or circling the coasts of the New Brunswick of the future. Meanwhile, in Canada, the French population had been placated by the Quebec Act of 1775—which at the same time had so bitterly annoyed the revolting Atlantic Colonies by its liberal treatment of the Roman Catholic Church and its annexation of the Ohio Valley to Canadian territory. In 1791 this measure was repealed and the close of the century saw the British Province—already denuded of the Ohio region by the Treaty of 1783—divided into Lower and Upper Canada, with free scope for the development of each along the diverse lines of French and Loyalist growth.

In one sense France had triumphed over England in the prolonged struggle for American dominion. Upon the Heights of Abraham she had apparently lost the whole continent. In so materially aiding the capture of the army of Cornwallis at Yorktown she avenged the victory of Wolfe in some measure by helping the revolted Colonies to the immediate possession of fully one-fourth of North America. By the subsequent purchase of the vast regions of Louisiana from the nerveless grasp of Spain, and their eventual sale to the United States, she paved the way for the possession by the Republic of another fourth of the continent. The eighteenth century closed therefore with the two Powers of the future facing each other at the Great Lakes—as

under varying national conditions they had done for centuries past. But one was now a compact, aggressive nation of over 5,000,000 of people: the other a loose congeries of scattered settlements with little of common aim or unity and numbering less than 200,000 persons. At the close of the nineteenth century the one is a great republic of 70,000,000 people; the other a sturdy British nation of some 6,000,000; and both have mixed races to rule and varied problems to face. The story of Canadian progress towards its present position is less known than it should be and is infinitely more interesting than is usually supposed. That the country is British to-day is one of the miracles of history. That it has faced and overcome the natural difficulties of its position is remarkable. That it has latterly been a pioneer of Empire in constitutional matters, as it had long been in a geographical sense, is still more so. It possesses, in fact, a record which should win the appreciation of all who admire pluck and energy and loyalty in a community as they do similar qualities in an individual.

CHAPTER II.

PIONEER WORK AND SETTLEMENT.

In the opening days of the nineteenth century British America, with its three million square miles of territory, possessed in the main only a fringe of settlements and isolated pioneer homes scattered along the shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario, the banks of the St. Lawrence and Richelieu and the coasts of the Atlantic. Only here and there through the interior forests of Upper Canada might the axe of the woodman be heard and the primitive implements of farm life be occasionally seen in operation. Only here and there in the vast wilds of the North-West would some adventurous traveller or explorer come across a Hudson's Bay Company fort, or perhaps meet a wandering trapper or *voyageur* hunting the spoils of fortune amid scenes of privation and the loneliness of immense areas empty of all save wild animals and untamed Indians. In Lower Canada alone was there a population which could be considered of numerical importance. Since the days of the Conquest it had been increasing with a speed which has ever since been characteristic of the French-Canadians, and now more than two hundred thousand

people lined the shores of the great river upon whose historic bosom had been carried under the French *régime* such a brilliant and changing procession of saintly women and profligate soldiers, devoted priests and adroit courtiers, aristocratic adventurers and peasant settlers, Christian Hurons and savage Iroquois. But these phantoms of history had come and gone, and now the little fenced-in strips of soil which indicated the existence of *habitant* farms, the church spire which revealed the presence of a priest in the midst of some growing parish, the little village nestling within the precincts of some sacred edifice served to prove the opening of a new era, as well as the progress of a new country.

Agriculture was still, however, greatly neglected by the French-Canadian, and the implements used were of the humblest and rudest kind. There was, it is true, much less of Govermental exaction in the way of taxes or for purposes of defence than there had ever been before, while Seigneurial powers were greatly restricted. The position of the peasant was widely different in these respects from what had been the case under French rule, and, above all, the war-cry of the Iroquois was no longer heard in the land. But the character of the *habitant* remained the same and has so continued during the greater part of the present century. Easily contented by nature, gay and light-hearted in character, adventurous at times but rarely ambitious, simple in tastes, moral in life, religious by habit and disposition, ignorant through

environment and because of class distinction, the French-Canadian *habitant* pursued the even tenour of a not unpleasant way and at this period served as a sort of useful background to the more active and important life of the towns. Many of the *noblesse* and Seigneurs of the Colony had returned to France after 1763, but enough remained to form, in conjunction with the higher clergy and a few wealthy traders, a society which was modelled after that of France. Its only connecting link with the peasants and mechanics of the Province was the priest whose office made him the equal and the friend of all.

Amongst the mass of the French population were a good many British soldiers—chiefly Scotch—who had settled in the Province and by inter-marriage become merged with the dominant nationality. This fact is curiously illustrated to-day by the Camerons, Frasers, etc., who cannot speak a word of English and are part and parcel of their French environment. Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers were still the only centres of population and influence. In the shadow of the great cliff, crowned by the Citadel of Quebec, there rested the homes of some ten thousand people. Narrow old-fashioned streets, then as now, changed suddenly into flights of stairs as they climbed in devious ways up toward the ancient walls which overlooked or surrounded their course. Montreal, with a nearly similar population, was the centre of the wealth derived from that North-West fur trade which makes this period pos-

sess such a fascinating interest to the lover of adventure and the student of history. A long succession of daring and ofttimes unscrupulous traders had for many years been laying the spoils of vast, mysterious regions at the feet of Mount Royal, and the result was a town which in commercial and financial importance was the metropolis of all the scattered Colonies. St. Johns, L'Assomption, Berthier, Sorel and other places were only tiny villages. Throughout the forests and along the interior lakes and rivers of Lower Canada there was still an absence of all regular settlement. There were, however, large numbers of a rough and roaming class of people—hunters of fish and fur and other products of the wilderness. They preferred adventure and a roving life to the monotonous labour and painful privations of the pioneers, who, in so many parts of the other Provinces, were now hewing homes for themselves out of the all-surrounding forest.

Life in Lower Canada was not uninteresting at this period, nor did it possess the sombre shadow of recent suffering which hung over the hearts and homes of the Loyalists in Upper Canada or upon the Atlantic coasts. The days of agony for the French-Canadian were now long past, and, in any case, his light-hearted disposition made painful memories easy to obliterate. The homes of the *habitant* might be only small cabins, but they usually boasted ample fireplaces and plenty of fuel. Solid wooden boxes and benches, looms and cradles, cranes

and spits and gridirons served the purposes of domestic use and were generally very visible in the two rooms into which the houses were divided. Salt meat, milk and bread constituted the summer diet, but in winter there was an abundance of fresh meat. And if the *habitant* was poor he made up for it in sociability and simple amusement. Winter was his time of pleasure. Along the sweeping banks of the St. Lawrence, and inland for some distance, the merry sound of the sleigh-bells became the signal for free-handed hospitality and the simple merriment of unbounded chatter, innumerable games and prolonged dancing. The upper classes had lost none of the lavish gaiety which made dance and dinner-party answer the roar of Wolfe's cannon upon the ramparts of Quebec. Everywhere the Seigneurs entertained with old-fashioned courtesy and generosity. Driving parties, dances and the celebration of innumerable anniversaries, baptisms, betrothals, or weddings served to minimise the effects of sparseness of population and distance of settlements. The country mansions of the gentry were still modelled upon antique French standards. Around the main building were the wash-house, coach-house, barns, stables and wood-sheds. Near-by was generally a small village, marked through the intervening trees by the tall steeple of the ever-present church, and the stone-mill where the tenants of the Seigneur were compelled to grind their grain and where might still be seen the loop-

holes which had so often been used when the building had served as a means of defence and place of refuge against the irrepressible Iroquois. At the beginning of the century, therefore, good cheer and contentment characterised in the main the population of Lower Canada. They had passed through the fires of pioneer suffering long enough to have had the more unpleasant memories eradicated or subdued. They had prospered under the security, stability and greater honesty of British rule and had not yet been sufficiently long under its constitutional influences to imbibe the spirit of democratic discontent.

The environment was very different elsewhere. When forty thousand Loyalists in 1783--4 poured into the Atlantic Provinces by way of the sea, or into Upper Canada by way of the Hudson and Oswego Rivers and other routes, they found nothing but wilderness conditions and the possibilities which hundreds of years before had faced their fathers in the new Republic. Unlike them, however, they had been deprived of all their possessions before coming to the new country and had also been, as a rule, members of the higher classes in the land they had left. To these classes the most of the New England settlers had not belonged in the England from which they had migrated so long before, and they had therefore been better equipped for the trials and privations of pioneer life. But, in the spirit which endures everything for principle, the

earlier New England Puritan and the Canadian Loyalist,—the Pilgrim Father with his intense religious convictions and the American Royalist with his hatred and contempt for republicanism—were not dissimilar. The sufferings of the latter were in many cases, however, the most severe. Although in Upper Canada he had the sympathy of the Indian, instead of the deadly enmity which the earlier American Colonists had to meet, he possessed none of the resources which had come to those pioneers from a migration usually intended to better their conditions and which had been backed by careful financial and domestic arrangements. The United Empire Loyalists, on the contrary, was fleeing without preparation from the long-sustained persecution of more or less successful enemies and from their existing and absolute triumph. Eventually, the British Government granted the refugees (1790) a sum total of $15,000,000, and with this patriotic gift a measure of comfort was introduced into struggling settlements from York to Halifax and into myriad of far-separated and solitary homes.

These settlers were of varied origin and character. Bertie, Willoughby, Stamford and Grantham Townships in the Niagara Peninsula were mainly settled by the disbanded soldiers of Butler's famous Rangers. Many of the settlements in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada were founded by Loyalists of German origin from the Hudson River and by disbanded soldiers of the 84th Royal

New York Regiment, or "Royal Greens"—also largely German in origin. Portions of the same body, together with a number of civilians, settled in the County of Frontenac under the leadership of Sir John Johnson and Colonels Macdonald and Rogers. A large party from New York, led by Major Van Alstine and composed of some of the very best of the Loyalist stock, settled in a district which became known as Adolphustown, in the same region. Down in Nova Scotia extensive settlements had been made at Shelburne and in the Annapolis Valley, while Guysborough, Stormont, Preston, Aylesford and Rawdon marked other points of colonisation by Loyalists. In New Brunswick the 8th, 98th, and 104th Regiments, the New Jersey Volunteers and the Queen's Rangers found homes for themselves and their families. With them came a notable number of highly cultured men who had sacrificed position and eminence, as well as wealth, for the Royal cause—Ludlow, Putnam, Odell, Upham, Allen, Winslow, Robinson, Saunders and many others.

Another type of settler followed. Major-General John Graves Simcoe, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada from 1791 to 1796, was instrumental in obtaining a large accession of what were termed "late Loyalists" from the United States—so-called in order to differentiate them from the original Loyalists. In most cases their opinions and characters were the same, although there was probably

some difference in degree. And, they had not been so prominently identified with what the earlier pioneers deemed the sacred cause of loyalty to the King, while some, no doubt, had been more or less lukewarm. It was natural, therefore, that a certain amount of jealousy, or suspicion, should exist and opposition to their sharing on equal terms in the land grants and privileges of the new country be shown. General Simcoe, however, encouraged all alike, only demanding allegiance to the King and qualities which, according to his Proclamation of 1792, would seem to promise "useful settlers." Amongst the incidents of this period also was the coming of a number of German settlers from New York in 1794, who settled in the Township of Markham, near the site of the future Toronto. To Norfolk County at the same time came Captain Samuel Ryerse—the founder of the afterwards well known Ryerson family—with a large contingent of Loyalists. In and about the present Town of Whitby there settled a number of English emigrants from Devonshire, through special representations made by the Governor to some of his friends. As a result of this policy of Simcoe's, from 1791 to the end of the century, a steady stream of Colonists came across the Niagara frontier, by way of Oswego and up the Lakes and the St. Lawrence, into Upper Canada. The emigrant's covered waggon, containing his family and household effects, and preceding his little herd of cattle and other domestic animals,

became a frequent spectacle along the routes referred to, and soon brought into the wilderness the greater comforts which a larger population makes possible. Still, the seventy thousand people spread through the forests and wastes of the great Province, in 1806, touched only the fringe of its resources and were scattered in far wider measure than could be the case amongst a gregarious people such as the French-Canadian. The migration into the Maritime Provinces was not equally marked after the first influx of Loyalists, although to many of those who had come in 1783 there were conditions of greater possible comfort there than was the case in Upper Canada.. Halifax was a centre of defence and society and government. Communication with the outside world was comparatively easy by means of His Majesty's ships, the interior of the country was better known, the settlements of the Acadians had already made an impression upon its fertility and powers of production, and the climate was not quite so rigorous. No special effort was made to attract emigration from the United States. In 1791, there commenced a movement of Roman Catholic Highlanders into Cape Breton and from there to the mainland, which continued in a more or less steady stream from Scotland for a number of years. To many of these settlers the log hut in the forest was infinitely superior to the turf cabin of his Scottish home.

Through the 270,000 square miles which consti-

tuted the land area of the Provinces of Upper Canada and Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, there were many curious incidents of settlement and pioneer life during the years immediately surrounding the birth of the century. Highlanders not only settled Cape Breton Island and the Nova Scotian Counties of Pictou and Antigonish, but also Prince Edward Island under the auspices of the Earl of Selkirk. Under the leadership of Alexander Macdonell, afterwards the Roman Catholic Bishop in Upper Canada, settlers of the same hardy type swarmed up the St. Lawrence and colonised the County of Glengarry. The eight hundred soldiers who formed the nucleus of this settlement, in 1804, became the source of much British strength in the War of 1812. Colonel Talbot, an eccentric but honest and able Irishman, who first came out with Governor Simcoe, obtained large grants of land on Lake Erie, and during many years of active labour superintended the settlement of some twenty-eight townships—now containing more than 200,000 people Lord Selkirk, not satisfied with his efforts on Prince Edward Island, secured a hundred thousand acres near the mouth of the Thames and there made a not very successful attempt at settlement and road-making. Later he acquired 30,800 acres at the mouth of the Grand River which had been originally Indian lands, and for which he paid £3,850. A few years afterwards he commenced, in 1812, his famous settlement on

the Red River within an area of 116,000 square miles, which he had purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company and which afterwards constituted the Province of Manitoba.

Amongst the immigrants who came into Upper Canada in, or about, the year 1800 were the Quakers of Whitchurch and a large number of Dutch or German Mennonites from the United States. At the same period also came a number of German settlers from Pennsylvania, followed by a contingent of Mennonites who together formed the basis of the present large German population of Waterloo County. To Oak-Ridges, not far from York, there came in the days of the French Revolution, a band of French settlers of high rank, or good position, led by the Comte de Puisaye, the Comte de Chalûs and others. The settlement was somewhat ephemeral in character, but it introduced an element of French culture and romance into the social life of the moment, although the *émigrés,* themselves, soon lost their liking for "a lodge in some vast wilderness." Into the Provinces by the sea a number of negroes had come during the years between 1783 and 1792. They were not very satisfactory settlers, and 1,200 were shipped at one time, and at a cost of £14,000, to Sierra Leone by the British Government. In 1796, the same Government settled some five hundred Maroons from Jamaica in Nova Scotia; but after every effort to make them useful citizens Governor Wentworth found it necessary in

the opening year of the century to deport them also to Sierra Leone. Meanwhile, the Indians of Upper Canada had received large accessions from the United States—chiefly Iroquois from New York who, under the influence of Sir John Johnson and Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant), and with a very clear recollection of the just policy of the British Government towards its Indian neighbours of the Thirteen Colonies, had remained faithful during the Revolution. By the Treaty of 1783 the ancient country and home of the Six Nations was given to the Americans. Of these tribes the Mohawks and the Senecas had been particularly active in their loyalty to Britain, and promises had been made by both Carleton and Haldimand, on behalf of the Crown, which it then became necessary to carry out. Large grants of land were accordingly made to the Indians at the mouth of the Grand River—one of the most beautiful and fertile spots in the Province. Here, and on the Bay of Quinte, many of them settled, and here thousands are now to be found, contented and in the main honestly civilised. By the beginning of the century, unfortunately, much of this territory had been voluntarily alienated by Brant, on behalf of his followers and despite protests from the Imperial Government. Enough, however, was preserved to maintain the tribes in reasonable comfort—though what they lost before the Provincial Government woke up to the condition of affairs in 1803 would have made them afterwards wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice.

By the year 1800 this migration of Loyalists into Canada and the Atlantic Provinces had left its impress—deep and permanent—upon the material development, political position and social character of the country. The initial difficulties of settlement on vast wastes of unknown soil and amid little understood climatic and agricultural conditions had been overcome. The patriotism which caused the sacrifice of home and country and possessions for sentiment and loyalty had been transmuted into a new and hearty love for the land of their adoption. The physical qualities of men who had been accustomed to the dignified pursuit of a professional career, the pleasant ease of a gentleman's position amid surroundings typical of Old England rather than the New, or the busy and comfortable life of a city man, had been hardened by time and painful experience into those better fitted for the labours of the forest and the pioneer farm. Despite the money granted by the British Government, and the primitive implements and even coarse garments and shoes which came from the same source, those earlier years of colonisation had been bitter beyond all expectation. As was perhaps natural the first attempts at cultivating the unbroken soil of the wilderness were largely failures. More than in many other things to which man may turn his hand experience is necessary in farming, and in these cases it had to be gained by means of much privation and suffering. Famine had come in 1788, and the settlers in Upper Canada had to eat millet seed, wheat-bran,

Indian cabbage, ground nuts, and even the roots of wild plants.

There were, of course, as yet no villages, no newspapers, no shops, no posts, no roads, no churches, no schools, and none of the varied conveniences and necessities of civilised life. Delicately nurtured women laboured in the preparation of coarse food and clothing amid domestic arrangements which included a minimum of comfort with a maximum of hardship. The log cabins were furnished as a rule by articles made in the roughest manner out of split wood, and the suffering from cold and changeable seasons was at times intense. Yet there was much of happiness in these scattered homesteads. Beef and mutton and tea might be unknown for years, the luxuries of varied diet and comfortable surroundings might be entirely absent, but they were at least free men and women, and many felt, no doubt, that they were laying the foundation of a great British State amid these scenes of forest and waste. As the evening strain of "God Save the King" rang out during many a year from what were seemingly mere isolated huts in a boundless wilderness it embodied a sentiment which went far to make the lonely and painful life endurable. And he who laughs to-day at loyalty of this nature might as well sneer also at the honour which makes the civilised home a possibility or at the spirit of charity which lies at the root of Christian success.

As time passed on, however, their first and bitter difficulties gave way before the determined labours of the settlers. Emigrants continued to come from the United States and homes grew up in closer vicinity to one another. Gradually greater comforts surrounded the pioneer and the capabilities of individual Loyalists found scope in the work of their old-time callings. At first it was imperative for nearly every one to toil at the production of food, the reclamation of the wilderness, the clearing of the forest. Except amid the somewhat easier conditions which prevailed on the Atlantic coast men who had been lawyers, gentlemen of means, planters, farmers, soldiers, officers, merchants, yeomen and mechanics had all alike to labour at the primeval occupation of cultivating the soil. But as soon as settlers became more numerous and the bare necessaries of life more plentiful men began to return in some measure to their diverse callings. Carpenters devoted themselves to building new houses, of material other than logs, and improving the comfort of old ones. Here and there at great distances apart saw and grist mills were established. In larger settlements shops began to appear and the exchange of farm products such as wheat, hides, and wool for articles of clothing or little luxuries of food occasionally took place. Blacksmiths, weavers, waggon-makers, shoemakers, commenced to ply their trades at accessible points. Log schoolhouses were erected here and there, and occasionally a rude and

primitive church would be found in some more populous section of the wilderness. And, as their circumstances improved, many a Loyalist of gentle extraction began to hark back to memories of his early home and to make the luxurious dwelling of the past a model for some new structure in the new land. Once more as time passed on the pretty little cottages, the large and roomy farmhouses, and even the occasional stately mansion of old colonial days arose amid the forests of Canada and presented fresh pictures of "the orchard, the meadow, the deep-tangled woodland" which the pioneer had lost but never forgotten. This development took time, however, and at the beginning of the century there were still very few of such evidences of progress and prosperity—though after that date they appeared with comparative frequency.

At this period the only places of any importance in Upper Canada were Kingston and Niagara. The former was a mere village, having a stone fort in which some British troops were usually maintained, a harbour which during the season sheltered a number of *bateaux* and a few larger lake vessels, and a couple of dockyards—one royal, the other private. It was the seat of some substantial merchant houses with partners in Quebec and Montreal. Niagara, or Newark, had been for some years the capital of the Province, and in 1795 it contained about seventy houses, a courthouse, gaol and certain government buildings and official residences. Toronto, after-

wards a Provincial capital with a population of 200,000, was still the site of dense and trackless forests lining the margin of the lake or bordering the marshes to the east. Governor Simcoe only decided in the later years of his Administration to make it the location of a future town and the seat of Provincial Government. In 1803 York—as it was called for some forty years—had 456 people within its bounds and in 1812 was still only a village. The London of to-day was not yet in existence, although Simcoe had a liking for the central location of the spot and is reported to have stood upon the banks of the Thames in the midst of a dense forest and to have said: "This will be the chief military depôt of the West and the seat of a District." The cities of Hamilton, Brantford, St. Thomas, Stratford, Windsor, Peterborough and Guelph did not commence their existence for many years after 1800. The site of Ottawa, the future capital of a Dominion stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, lay shrouded in the gloom of the forest as it was when Champlain first came within sound of the roar of Chaudière Falls.

The means of communication constituted a most vital question to the isolated settlers of this time and for many years afterwards. The lack of roads made social intercourse difficult if not impossible, interchange of productions or trade of any kind an arduous matter, the ministration of the preacher, or teacher, or physician a rare and exceptional privi-

lege. Simcoe did everything that one man could do in a limited time. From where London afterwards stood, away through the forests to Dundas, near Lake Ontario, he established a post-road which is still known as Dundas Street, while from Toronto to Lake Simcoe on the direct route of the great fur trade of the upper Lake region he carried the famous pathway ever since called Yonge Street—in accordance with his desire to commemorate the name of the then Secretary of State for War. The end of the century, in the beginning of which these highways were chopped and cleared through the environing forest, sees them running between a continuous succession of prosperous villages and farmhouses. Their appearance of smiling peace and plenty affords little evidence of what now appears as the condition of primeval gloom under which the whole land then rested within the shadow of savage life.

Such was the general position of the people in British America about the year 1800. Sweeping across the continent with the eye of imagination one sees the surprising contrast presented by the country of that time and the united Dominion at the end of the succeeding hundred years. Four large towns dotted the vast landscape from the shores of the Atlantic to the unknown regions around Lake Superior—Halifax, St. John, Quebec and Montreal —each with a population of some ten thousand souls. Upon the banks of the St. Lawrence and scattered in tiny, picturesque villages throughout a portion of

Lower Canada were 200,000 French-Canadians living under French laws, speaking the French language, and garbed in the dress of Old France; though with some additions characteristic of the soil. In the Eastern Townships of the same Province were several thousand American Loyalists, while here and there in Upper Canada—on the borders of Lakes Erie and Ontario, along the Government Roads and in isolated parts of the great forest area—were some 50,000 Loyalists or those who had come from the United States after the first migration. There were also scattered settlements of English, Scotch and French emigrants. Small bands of Indians still roamed the wilderness, and on the Bay of Quinte and the Grand River were large Reserves of loyal Iroquois. Down in the Provinces by the Atlantic the pioneers, numbering about a hundred thousand, were developing the agricultural resources and fishing wealth of their territory amid difficulties not unlike in character, though differing in degree, from those of their fellow-Colonists elsewhere. But if ameliorated by certain local conditions these difficulties were also increased by the hostility of the Indians—a peculiar tribe who preserved that feeling after it had been largely subdued or eradicated in the Canadas. In none of the Provinces, however, was there even yet absolute safety to individual settlers from attack or trouble at the hands of savage marauders. The situation was only relieved by the force of comparison with what had been.

Through the heart of the vast and distant West there roamed the fur-trader and untamed tribes of hunting Indians who ministered to the demands of the great rivals—the Hudson's Bay Company, the North-West Company and the X. Y. Company. British Columbia was unknown save for the venturesome exploit of Alexander Mackenzie and the passing glimpses of early Pacific navigators. Over and through these immense regions the means of travelling and communication were unique. The snow-shoe and sleigh of the settler might be seen throughout Lower Canada and elsewhere in more limited measure. Down all the great streams of the country there still glided the bark canoe of the savage, followed in the lake and river region of the Canadas by the French *bateaux,* or small boats fitted for being carried over the innumerable *portages* which had to be crossed from one waterway to another and from different parts of some shallow or turbulent stream. From the *voyageurs* of the Lower Province and upon numerous highways of occasional river traffic rose the sound of the merry boat-song with which the careless *habitant* wiled the time away as he floated or rowed between the sombre forests which loomed up on either side. To help the growing trade by these waterways, between the two Provinces, a couple of small canals had been constructed on the St. Lawrence, and by 1801 the North-West Company had also completed one at Sault Ste. Marie. Ships had been built at Quebec

as far back as 1666, and twelve years later La Salle had floated a wonderful vessel on Lake Erie whose white wings carried consternation to the Indian heart on shore. But not till 1809 was the first steamer—The Accommodation—launched by John Molson on the bosom of the St. Lawrence.

In other elements of modern civilisation Lower Canada was of course in advance of the rest of the country—Halifax perhaps excepted. Schools had existed for over a century at Tadousac, Three Rivers and Quebec. Stone structures at Montreal and Quebec marked the existence of convents, seminaries, hospitals, nunneries and religious colleges of the dominant faith. In Upper Canada schools had been established at Kingston, Newark, Port Rowan, and in 1804, the Rev. John Strachan organised the historic institution at Cornwall which was destined to exercise so great an influence on the youths who afterwards ruled the Province. Two years earlier the pioneer University of all Canada had been formed out of King's College in Nova Scotia—first established in 1788. Newspapers of a primitive type existed in Halifax, Quebec, Montreal, Charlottetown, Niagara and (1802) York. Here and there in different parts of the vastness of British North America, outside of the few towns or villages, there swung the axe of the settler or floated up in the summer air the smoke from clearing fires, from the camps of newly arrived pioneers, or from the temporary location of some passing hunter, trapper

or Indian. In a detached and isolated way civilisation struggled with savagery and with the wild waste of nature's wilderness. It was slowly and surely making its way, and in another quarter of a century the energy, pluck and perseverance of the British race was to carve out of the new land homes and institutions resembling in some measure at least those from which many of them had been driven at a time when all that was best in the Thirteen Colonies was based upon the precedents and practices, customs and constitution of the Mother-land This was the growing time of infancy in a new British country.

CHAPTER III.

ELEMENTS IN THE MAKING OF A NATION.

As a result of nearly two centuries of settlement and struggle the French-Canadians by the year 1800 had established themselves with growing and permanent strength upon the banks of the St. Lawrence. As a result of their recent migration the American Loyalists in Upper Canada and the Maritime Provinces had laid the foundation of not only a large future population but of principles which were in some measure to control the whole future government and policy of British North America. It remained during the following three or four decades for a fresh influx of immigrants to take place which was to have the effect of building new and not always harmonious bricks into the edifice whose curiously complex foundations had been laid in such far-severed periods by the French-Canadian and the American Loyalist. The causes which control the history of the nineteenth century, so far as Canada is concerned, were laid in these diverse settlements, and too much stress cannot be laid upon their importance. Historians of early ages in Europe have been wont to build their records around the careers of successive Sovereigns, as those of later times have

been apt to centre their attention upon the complications of political controversy. In British America the real pivot of modern history has been neither the personality of its leaders—potent as that influence has been at times—nor the stirrings of party strife; but rather in the character of the three colonising periods referred to. With the consolidation of French-Canadian population and influence along the St. Lawrence came the whole range of those questions connected with race and religion and language, which first threatened British rule and connection and then helped to create Confederation. With the Loyalist settlements came the foundation principles of British connection—loyalty to the Crown and to monarchical ideals—which in time leavened the whole mass of public opinion and secured Canada to the Empire. Incidentally came other principles of old-fashioned Toryism and of the union of State and Church, which formed the continuous subject of controversy during many years. With the succeeding migration, which must now be considered, came a maze of conflicting opinion—Republicanism from over the border, Radicalism from Scotland, Liberalism from England. Out of these varied views there naturally evolved most of the political and semi-religious conflicts of the following half-century.

The military settlers of 1784 from the United States were followed in 1816 by a colony of soldiers established in the neighbourhood of the Ottawa

River under the auspices of Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Other emigrants joined the settlement in time, and eventually the Town of Perth and several populous counties resulted from this migration of soldiers; of Paisley weavers and minor manufacturers and artisans driven away by the hard times; or of persons from Glasgow and Lanarkshire influenced by similar considerations. A portion of these settlers also went to the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada and established themselves along the St. Francis River. To them the Imperial Government had given a free passage, a grant of land to each family, tools for clearing and cultivating the soil, and rations to last until the first harvest. In the case of any settlements assuming the size of villages of importance provision was pledged for the support of a church and school. Further up the Ottawa, on the shores of the Lac des Chats, there settled about the same time a colony of clannish and vigorous Highlanders under their Chief McNab. He sought, in the building of a picturesque residence on the bold and rocky shore of the lake, and by the maintenance of Scottish customs and inculcation of reverence for Scottish traditions, to introduce amid the forests of a new country the elements which had done so much to make the history of the old land martial and attractive. The effort lent a bit of brilliant colouring to the sombre shadows of pioneer life, and although unsuccessful in any permanent sense, the occasional appearance

of the Chief on the streets of York clad in bonnet and feather, tartan and sporran, was an interesting result and a precursor of the day when, three-quarters of a century later, a regiment of sturdy Canadian "Highlanders" should march through the same streets for purposes of peaceful drill or the exhibition of volunteer excellence. In 1806 Hull was laid out upon the banks of the Ottawa by Philemon Wright, an enterprising American of ample means who came from Boston with a colony of his countrymen, and did much to establish the afterwards famous lumber industry of the Ottawa region. Twenty years later Bytown—now Ottawa—was founded on the opposite side of the river from Hull. It was the product of the building of the Rideau Canal by the Imperial Government for purposes of military communication *via* the Ottawa and Rideau Rivers, from Montreal to Kingston, and was named after Colonel By who commanded the detachment of Royal Engineers in charge of construction. A number of the soldiers, with their families, remained at Bytown after the canal was finished.

Along the Grand River, in what had been part of the Iroquois Reserve, many small settlements were begun in 1833 and following years. The village of Fergus and the Townships of Garafraxa, Eramosa and Erin were notable results of a large migration of farmers from Aberdeenshire and Midlothian. Wilmot Township, in the same region, was settled by Mennonites from Bavaria. In 1832 some eight

hundred English emigrants by the advice and aid of the Earl of Egremont were sent out from Suffolk, and to the number of nearly eight hundred settled in the neighbourhood of the future City of London—then a rich hunting region known principally for its bears, wolves, deer and other wild animals. In 1826 its site had been surveyed by Colonel Mahlon Burwell and town lots been granted, under the authority of the Provincial Government, by the pioneer of all that western region, the imperious, honourable and eccentric Colonel Talbot. During the same year the first house, or rather log-shanty, had been erected upon the soil of the future city. Throughout the surrounding country settlement had been going on slowly and surely under the direction of Colonel Talbot, but after 1832 it became much more rapid—a notable Scotch colony being that of the Township of Zorra in the future County of Oxford. As far back as 1816 the Hon. William Dickson, a Member of the Legislative Council, had bought the Township of Dumfries at about one dollar an acre and founded what afterwards became the well-known industrial centre of Waterloo County—the town of Galt. Through an active campaign in the Scottish press he also obtained a large emigration from Roxburgh and Selkirkshire between the years 1820 and 1835.

Following these and many minor movements of population came a considerable Irish migration in 1823. The various Scotch settlements in Cape

Breton,Prince Edward Island, Glengarry and on the far-away Red River had been caused mainly by long-continued discontent in the Highlands, resulting from the attempt to destroy the clan system, and, later on, from the increase of population within an area of restricted resources where the sturdy and restless inhabitants were subject to the unaccustomed maintenance of internal peace. The Irish emigration was due to more complex causes. The increase in the number of British operatives and the many new uses of machinery, together with other industrial factors, affected the north of Ireland, while not uncommon conditions of local discontent and persistent poverty facilitated a result in the southern part of the country which the British Government was quite willing to aid. In the year mentioned 580 Irish settlers were sent out at a cost of £12,500 to the Government and established in a number of townships lying between the Perth settlement and the Ottawa River. Two years later a similar contingent arrived in what afterwards became the County of Peterborough, established the town of that name and soon became a flourishing community of two or three thousand people. To each family a hundred acres of land was granted, together with a cow, tools for farming, a supply of seed, and rations for eighteen months. This little Colony cost the Imperial Government upwards of £43,000. In 1831 several hundred Irish families settled south of Quebec City in what afterwards

became the County of Megantic. A thousand more persons of the same extraction took up land in the immediate neighbourhood of Quebec, while some fifteen hundred others found homes in the Eastern Townships, and fully 5,000 settled in the vicinity of Montreal. During this year 34,000 Irish emigrants actually reached Quebec, though, despite the settlements recorded above, a majority were attracted over the border by the superior fascinations of a large population and progressive cities—to say nothing of the unpleasant evidences of political agitation and turmoil which they found around them in the Canadas and which must have prevented many a would-be Colonist from staying in the country. During the succeeding year several hundred Irish officers and soldiers settled in the London District—receiving from one to four hundred acres each in proportion to rank, and setting to work with vigour at the arduous task of hewing homes for themselves out of the wilderness. A pen picture of the period shows one "logging-bee," held for the purpose of bringing together the isolated settlers in a general union of strength for the cutting down of trees, the chopping of logs and the pulling of stumps, at which laboured with axe, or handspike, or saw a future Chief Justice of Upper Canada, a former Colonel in the British army, a County Judge and an Anglican Rector of the days to come. The actual Rector of the settlement drove the oxen.

The Canada Company was formed and incorpo-

rated in London in 1826, chiefly through the efforts of John Galt, and with ideas based upon the great opportunities and commercial successes of the Hudson's Bay Company, though with a different policy and method of procedure. The necessities of the one made it dislike immigration, while the desire of the other was to promote it in every way possible in order to increase the value of the lands which it had for sale. For a sum amounting to nearly one and a half million dollars, payable in sixteen years, the Company obtained altogether 2,484,413 acres * —a million acres of which was in the so-called Huron Tract. This region, stretching from the shores of Lake Huron inland almost to the shores of Lake Ontario, and including a vast territory of fruitful soil, became in a few years the seat of towns like Goderich, Stratford and Guelph. Large sums were spent in exploring lands, opening roads and erecting buildings throughout the wilderness, to say nothing of heavy expenses incurred in making the country known in the British Isles. People gradually came into the region, and under the energetic direction of the Company's versatile and talented manager considerable progress in settlement and organisation was effected. Galt was, in fact, not only a brilliant man of letters but a true Empire-builder. His mental and physical resources seemed to be illimitable. He had the ear of the educated

* Report by Charles Buller, forming Appendix "B" to Lord Durham's *Report*.

classes at home and brought out many most desirable emigrants—in whom he preferred quality to numbers. His labours were Protæan in variety and scope—"now bent on the discovery of an indelible ink, now on the damming of a river, now on the construction of a bridge, now on the draining of a swamp, now on the invention of a hydraulic machine, now on the endowment of an hospital, now on the formation of a company and now on the founding of a city." * Generous and unsuspicious, sincere and unselfish, he was somewhat hasty in decision and perhaps visionary in project, and, like so many other men of genius who have proved benefactors to our race, he was destined to meet the ingratitude of those whom he temporarily and nominally served, and after a few years was recalled to London. But he had done a work which the opinion of Directors could not affect or their censure cancel. Around him also in this pioneer period had gathered many men who made their mark in different directions—Major Strickland, Captain Bayfield, Colonel Anthony Van Egmond, Dr. William Dunlop and others.

In the Huron Tract, as time passed on, it became a case of being "Canada Company or nothing," and, as was natural, such a situation early aroused dissatisfaction. Controversies began, political issues developed and rivalries increased. Around Goderich and near the shores of Lake Huron a

* *In the Days of the Canada Company*, by R. and K. M. Lizars.

colony of Scotch gentlemen was founded in 1835 which stood by Sir John Colborne in certain questions at issue between His Excellency and the Company, and around it there soon gathered an opposition to the latter which made matters very lively for years to come. The general lands of the Company were sold rapidly to incoming immigrants, but the Huron Tract being the most remote was the last to be settled. In 1835, however, there were some 3,000 souls living in the region and much of the land was in the possession of outsiders—a natural and prolific cause of complaint. In 1841 its population had grown to 5,600, and from that time on the increase was exceedingly rapid. During these earlier years the progress of the settlement, as directed and pressed by Galt and others, seems to have been greatly hampered by holders of vacant lands who retained their properties in a wild condition for purely speculative purposes, or in some cases perhaps from ignorance of their possibly increased value through the growth of settlement. Another Company formed in 1834—The British American Land Company—had an important part in the settlement and politics of Lower Canada. Under the original agreement with the Crown the price it paid for surveyed lands was seventy-five cents per acre and for unsurveyed fifty cents per acre. Sales to settlers were made in the earlier years at from one to three dollars an acre. The Company at one time owned 767,000 acres in the Eastern Townships and

did yeoman service in spreading information regarding the country throughout Europe. Special emigration agents were employed in the British Isles, and on one occasion, Mr. R. W. Heneker—afterwards Commissioner of the Company—himself visited Sweden and Norway in the interests of colonisation. The Company sold land to all comers without reference to race, religion or language, and several French-speaking townships in the region owe their origin to this liberality of view.

Meanwhile a peculiar element in the Upper Canada population had been introduced. The American Loyalists during many years had had their innings —and if ever settlers deserved to obtain the fullest privileges of power in a new country they did. But in their train had come other groups of American emigrants. Part of them were the carefully selected settlers of Simcoe's *régime;* part of them have been described by a Canadian historian * as the sutlers and camp followers of the movement and as "illiterate in the extreme, immoral, untrustworthy and scandalously lazy." These men, as the Province became more populous, were scattered in thousands along the main highways of the country, and the wayside taverns on Dundas Street, the Governor's Road, Talbot Street, Yonge Street, Kingston Road, etc., naturally fell into their hands. Others took to "squatting" on wild lands, but did little except

* The Rev. George Bryce, LL.D., in *A Short History of the Canadian People.*

hunt and fish while their families lived in squalid wretchedness. This was unfortunately the class of settler whom travellers most frequently encountered and whose description in many early works upon British America lends such unflattering shadows to the picture of its pioneer position. Shrewd and smart, yet ignorant and profanely vulgar, they possessed an influence out of proportion to their numbers and one which was to have its effect in the War of 1812 and the Rebellion of 1837, as well as in the evolution of local political antagonisms and the creation of a public opinion abroad which was naturally and largely formed, in those days, by the reports of travellers. From this class came the men who helped the invaders during the years of war and lent their votes in other periods to anything which savoured of republicanism or Americanisation. But in numbers this element was always small, and in time it became absorbed in the mass of an educated and moral population.

Connected with this class, though not of it, were the large number of respectable and intelligent Americans already referred to who, between 1796 and 1806, had taken advantage of the liberal land laws which Simcoe had left behind in order to obtain grants and to settle upon the soil of a country where they would be free from the dreaded shadow of Indian warfare. They were not in any sense Loyalists, and many of them during the Revolution had probably remained neutral. In any case the passing

years had fused into their convictions more or less of American ideas of government, and from the regions in which they settled to this day there can be traced over the map of Ontario a measure of support given by themselves or their descendants to anything partaking of the spirit and sentiments of the land they had left. This fact can be illustrated in various directions, from records of the disloyal militia of Sandwich and the London and Newcastle Districts in 1812, to the disaffected elements in Norfolk and Oxford and North York in 1812 and 1837. In the five years preceding 1837, however, the flood of emigrants from Great Britain to British America reached 125,000 souls and naturally overwhelmed influences of this nature, while also controlling and intensifying local political conditions with an intermixture of external principles and experiences. During the Rebellion of 1837 and immediately succeeding years, this swollen stream of immigration sank to a few thousands, only to develop after the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841, into a far greater mass of incoming population. But this migration belonged to a new period and one which came after the real creation of Canada—in pioneer work, formative principles and political institutions. During these forty years the principal British emigration had been to Upper and Lower Canada—from which a great many settlers had drifted into the United States. Including those who left the country, or merely passed through its

ports, as well as those who stayed within its bounds, this total passage of population from the United Kingdom to British America had risen from 2,480 souls in 1800 to 54,711 in 1832.* In the Maritime Provinces colonising movements had not been very extensive during this period. The population of Nova Scotia by 1838 had only increased, from its scattered group of 65,000 pioneers in 1806, to 202,000 souls. That of New Brunswick had only risen from 35,000 in the same year to 156,000 in 1840, while in Prince Edward Island there were 47,000 persons in 1841 as against about 10,000 in 1806. In the year 1841 the total population of Upper Canada was estimated at 625,000 and that of Lower Canada was declared by the Census to be 455,688. At the end, therefore, of this all-important formative stage of Canadian development the total population of its vast areas and scattered Provinces was about one and a half millions—excluding Indians.

The cause of the slow growth in the Maritime Povinces during this period has not been considered historically as much as it might have been. There were not, of course, the same large areas of rich soil available, but on the other hand the Provinces were near the sea, and in days of difficult inland travel, by foot over unknown regions, by boat upon streams having long and laborious *portages* to cross, or by stage and emigrant waggon over roads of the most varied and the rudest character, it would have seemed

* McGregor's (1833) *British America*, vol. 1, p. 597.

natural for incoming settlers to choose, in many cases, the country nearest in a geographical sense to the old land from which they had come. But in these Maritime regions there seems to have been a distinct indifference to colonisation. There was no "Canada Company" to make the country known to would-be British emigrants and to stop the stream of settlers from going up the St. Lawrence in search of new lands bordered by the vast inland seas of which they had heard. The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company did not succeed in making itself a factor in the matter, although a Colonisation Company of Philadelphia, in pre-revolution days, had succeeded in settling a number of people in Pictou County, Nova Scotia. There was no General Simcoe in the earlier years to make liberal land laws and to take steps for bringing the resources of the Provinces before the people of the United States. Governor Lawrence, away back in 1759, had undertaken something of the kind in a small way and against the policy of the Imperial Government—which wished the vacant lands occupied as far as possible by disbanded soldiers—and had settled some 800 American colonists from Massachusetts and Rhode Island in the neighbourhood of Maugerville, Nova Scotia. But these settlers were found to possess very questionable loyalty in the days of revolution and war and the experiment was not repeated. With the exception of Lord Selkirk's preliminary colonisation canter in Prince Edward

Island and Sir William Alexander's seventeenth century efforts in Nova Scotia, there were no pronounced personalities, such as Talbot, Galt or Selkirk himself, inspired with the idea of founding great communities in a new land.

The original settlers, also, seem to have been pretty well satisfied in this respect. The Acadians, who were slowly building themselves into the life of the Provinces, cared nothing for the promotion of further alien settlements, while the Loyalists held securely the cherished institutions for which they had struggled so hard and were now slowly creating comfortable homes and valuable properties for themselves out of the wilderness. They had what they wanted—apart from the inevitable privations of their life—and perhaps were not sorry to see emigration passing them by. There was, of course, the steady stream of Scotchmen which poured into Cape Breton Island, and from thence in many cases to the mainland, from 1802 up to 1828, and which is estimated to have numbered at least 25,000. But this was an exceptional migration and a very slow and gradual one. Not until 1834 did the Atlantic Provinces as a whole share in the real movement of population from Britain and then, during the six years following, the increase of population in New Brunswick alone was 35,000. In Prince Edward Island, whose soil from 1767 had been mainly in the hands of absentee proprietors, the increase of population was slow and fluctuating

—the most marked period being that between 1834 and 1841. As in the Canadas, the majority of these emigrants were naturally of a class which had grievances of one kind or another in the Old Land, or which held views strongly antagonistic to certain institutions dear to the hearts and convictions of the Loyalist pioneers and their descendants. Naturally, therefore, friction arose and party spirit developed, though not to the same extent or with the same violence as was elsewhere seen. The Loyalist leaven was too pronounced in the Maritime Provinces, and the American element too small, to permit of such stormy results.

Meanwhile the original masters of the soil in all these newly developed regions were being slowly trained into a position of comparative stability. The wandering spirit was gradually subdued and settlements of Indians were soon to be found, in varied degrees of civilisation and contentment, dotted over the territory from the Atlantic to Lake Huron and through all the region watered by the St. Lawrence and its affluents. They were, as a whole, treated honestly and honourably by the Imperial Government—under whose nominal control they remained for nearly half of the century. Their Reserves and personal interests were guarded to an extent which maintained complete peace between them and the white settlers and in a way which makes the Canadian record a blaze of light when compared with that on the other side of the international line. But

the policy was never absolute perfection and the powers necessarily given the Provincial Government of Upper Canada were certainly mis-directed, by some one, in connection with the Six Nations, or Iroquois, during the first years of the century. The vast tract granted to these loyal Indians along the whole length of the Grand River, in 1784, was naturally an object of desire to those who understood its fertility and value, and in the latter years of the eighteenth century the Imperial Government was induced, with difficulty and grave doubt, to permit the sale of part of the lands in order to procure a possible annuity for the tribes. The avowed object was good, but at this point the Provincial Government seems to have shown serious indifference as to the result of its policy. Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), who had the unbounded confidence of the Indians whom he had so gallantly led during the Revolution, was given full authority by their chiefs and warriors to act for them, and, so far as his personal probity and high honour are concerned, there cannot be a shadow of suspicion. But he seems to have lacked business foresight and skill—as might have been expected. Within a short time 352,707 acres were sold in six blocks for the total sum of £44,867.* But even this amount, small as it was, did not reach the pockets of the Indians, and, in

* *Canada: Past, Present and Future*, by W. H. Smith, Toronto, 1850, vol. 1, p. 170.

1803, when Governor Hunter awoke to the position of affairs and ordered an investigation, it was found three years later that the total money available for investment on behalf of the tribes was a little over £5,600. It is difficult to know where the blame lies. Certainly not with the Imperial Government which, in addition to objections raised at the time, had even offered to purchase the lands from the Indians at the price for which they were willing to sell them to individuals. Nor is it likely that Peter Russell, Administrator of the Government during the chief portion of the period, or his successor, Lieutenant-Governor Hunter, were anything more than careless in the matter. The fact is that such confidence was felt in Brant, as a man of education and experience, that he was practically left in control of the business—with the result of certain disaster when he came into contact with the keener wits of the white men around him. However this may be, the consequences reflect nothing but discredit upon those in charge of affairs and fully merit the declaration of Mr. Charles Buller, when reporting to Lord Durham in 1838, that "the Government would seem (in this matter) to have neglected or violated its implied trust." To the Iroquois 187,000 acres remained of their original grant, and the carelessness referred to does not seem to have been repeated. Only about a fourth of this land belongs to the Indians at the end of the century, but they now draw a substantial annuity through investments made for

them by the Imperial and Canadian Governments as the result of sales extending over many years.

Up to 1850 a great region, as large as England and lying north of Lakes Superior and Huron, remained in practical possession of some 3,000 Ojibbiway Indians. It was then purchased from them by the Canadian Government for $16,640 and a perpetual annuity of $4,400. At different periods similar lands have been bought from various other Indian tribes at an estimated cost of a million dollars, while, prior to 1841, the Imperial Government gave the Indians of the Canadas presents in the shape of clothing, blankets, etc., of large yearly value—amounting in 1836 to £12,500. In the Maritime Provinces the Micmacs, who constituted the Indian population of that region, were never numerous, although in the earlier days of settlement and under encouragement from French, or Acadians, or Americans in turn, they were often hostile and troublesome. But they probably did not number more than a few thousands within any part of the nineteenth century. It is impossible to give anything more than an estimated view of the wandering tribes in the North-West and British Columbia during the forty years of settlement under consideration. Like the bulk of the white population of that vast region they were so scattered and isolated that exact figures are unattainable. But, judging from their present numbers and bearing in mind that the advance of civilisation tends to lessen rather than increase the

Indian race, it is probable that at least a hundred thousand members of different tribes were then roaming over the prairies, hunting buffalo, living in the great unknown realms to the far north by fishing and shooting, or making a not very varied livelihood along the banks of the Fraser and other rivers of the Pacific coast or Rocky Mountains. Everywhere, however, they were able to do something by bringing in furs for purchase by the Hudson's Bay Company or its early rivals.

Of the Hudson's Bay Company and Lord Selkirk's famous settlement on the Red River, during these years much might be written. Prior to 1811 the Company had devoted itself mainly to the procuring and distribution of furs, the building of forts, and the governing necessities of a position which made them more or less supreme throughout a territory ranging from Lake Superior to the Arctic Seas and from the same region to the Pacific—over the mountains of British Columbia, down into the future State of Oregon and even up into the wilds of Russian Alaska. They naturally did not care much in those days for colonisation, while they did care very much for those spoils of the spear and the shot-gun which the advance of civilisation would inevitably diminish and in time destroy. But in 1811 the Earl of Selkirk, after testing his powers as a coloniser in the little island on the Atlantic and in the wilds of Upper Canada, obtained a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company, bought a vast

tract of 116,000 square miles in the basin of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and decided to build upon the sweeping verge of the prairies a new home for Scotchmen, and a colony which he believed would exceed in its progress and prosperity anything which had gone before in the history of British America. In 1812 a large party of Highlanders arrived, and others joined them in 1815. But the energetic promoter and the hardy settlers alike failed to appreciate the rigours of the climate, the immense distances between themselves and civilisation, the hardships of pioneer life in such a country, and the bitter hostilities which were to be aroused amongst the followers of the North-West Company by the claims of Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company to this particular region.

They were met, from the time of their first arrival, by the strongest opposition from a concern which had for many years deemed this territory its own and which already possessed a fort (Gibraltar) not far from the Fort Douglas which Selkirk proceeded to erect about a mile below the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. After spending their first winter at Pembina, just south of the international frontier, the Colonists returned in the ensuing spring, built their log-houses and sowed some wheat, only to be compelled by failure in the crop to again retire to Pembina on the approach of the cold season. Reinforced from Scotland, the indomitable Colonists, however,

as soon as the season again permitted, made another effort to establish their settlement and for a time lived on fish, roots, wild berries and even nettles until in 1816 they were attacked in force by a contingent of Nor'-Westers and twenty-one persons killed—including Robert Semple, the acting Governor of the little Colony. But Lord Selkirk was now at New York and, with the blood of the Douglases fired in his veins by the continued antagonism and even active hostility of his rivals, he swept along the northern shores of Lakes Huron and Superior to Fort William, dragging with him two small cannon through the wilderness. After taking possession of the Fort, he captured the guilty parties and, under an Upper Canada commission which he held as Justice of the Peace, sent them to York for trial—where they were afterwards acquitted for want of evidence—and then went to visit his almost ruined settlement. He reorganised the colony with the addition of some new settlers and with supplies of implements, seed-grain and stock. But the sufferings of the pioneers were not yet over. A poor harvest compelled them to again flee to Pembina for the winter, after being reduced to almost the last extremity. In the ensuing spring and summer magnificent crops came only to be destroyed by a cloud of grasshoppers which settled upon the soil and left behind a wilderness; and for the next season a myriad larvæ which filled the air and fields, extinguished even the fires, and polluted everything.

Once more, however, their unquenchable energy and courage asserted itself, and this little advance-guard of civilisation returned to the struggle when the plague had finally left them. At a cost of thousands of dollars, and from 1,200 miles away, Lord Selkirk brought them seed-wheat, and this time the crop was successful. The tiny settlement now struck its roots deep into the soil, and despite passing periods of floods and cold and starvation the pioneers persisted with all the obstinate pluck of determined Scotchmen. In schemes of enterprising, but unsuccessful, character for the advancement of his Colony Lord Selkirk in these years sank half a million of dollars. He brought fifteen thousand sheep from Kentucky—over two thousand miles away—but only a few survived the journey and these for but a brief period. He tried flax culture and tallow exportation with only failure as a result, while similar consequences followed an effort made by others to manufacture cloth out of buffaloes' wool. In 1818, the hero of this determined and historic effort at colonisation left for England, and in his death two years later at Pau, under the shadow of the Pyrenees, there passed away one more of those singular men whom Sir Walter Scott once described as having "doffed the world aside and bid it pass." Selkirk defied everybody and everything in his day and in some senses of the word was himself a failure. But it is questionable if success of the most showy kind would have presented such a splendid

picture as is exhibited in the record of his Red River Settlement and its sombre background of struggle and sorrow. Sixteen years after the death of its founder the lands of this territory were bought back from the heirs of Lord Selkirk by the Hudson's Bay Company and from 1836 onward the region was blessed with comparative peace. In 1858 the settlement had about eight thousand of a population.

Such was the general position of British America, as regarded population, at the end of what I have termed the formative period of its history. Masses of people were to come in the future, and in far greater number than had yet been the case, but they only merged into the population as a whole and increased the divisions already in existence. No new classes were created by this succeeding immigration, nor were the pivotal issues of later times greatly affected by it, although minor matters were no doubt influenced in some measure. The tendencies of the people in all the Provinces had in the earlier years been planted and developed. Those of the French-Canadians went through a period of trial and trouble and into the melting-pot of a rebellion before they were fixed. Elsewhere the Loyalists laid the foundation of a solid, stable and lasting Tory party. The later American settlers, of the respectable and sturdy type, built into the edifice an element of moderate view which in earlier years took a somewhat neutral ground and in a subsequent period bit-

terly opposed the Tory party and administration. The disreputable class of American settlers in the last years of the closing century and first years of the opening one formed a party of permanent discontent —a nucleus for traitors in the War of 1812, and of possible rebels at a later period. The mass of emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland divided much upon the party lines of the Old Land and became in time Canadian Tories, or Liberals, or Radicals, as they had been at home. Unfortunately, however, for the settled government of the Provinces and for the peace of the dominant party, a fairly large proportion had left the British Isles on account of local discontents or individual poverty, and seem to have held views which led them to naturally join the rising tide of opposition to the local Administrations, and to help in promoting agitations which led up to and created the situation in 1837 out of which the Canadian institutions and principles of the present time have gradually evolved—as good is said to sometimes arise out of evil.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WAR OF 1812–15.

THE war by which the United States in the early years of the century strove to express in active form the hostility towards England which had been smouldering since the days of the Revolution, and to complete its continental ambitions by the triumphant capture of Canada, had a more important effect upon the development and history of British North America than is generally supposed. It meant more than the mere details of skirmishes, battles and the rout of invading armies. It involved considerations greater than may be seen in the ordinary record of campaigns in which the Canadian militia and British regulars were able to hold British territory intact upon this continent during a period of over two and a half years of struggle. That a population of 500,000 people, scattered over widely-sundered areas, should be able almost unaided to thus successfully oppose the aggressive action of an organised Republic of six millions was an extraordinary military performance, and it is only natural, and indeed inevitable, that in considering the result it should have been regarded from the military standpoint chiefly.

But in the upbuilding of Canada this struggle holds a place similar in its national import to that of the Revolution in American history. It consolidated the British sentiment of the whole population from the shores of Lake Huron to the coasts of the Atlantic. It eliminated much of the disloyal element which was beginning to eat into the vitals of Provincial life in Upper Canada, and modified in some measure the force of the American spirit which remained in the hearts of some sections of the settlers. It checked the growth of republicanism amongst the French of Lower Canada and prevented the Rebellion of 1837 in that Province from being the rising of a whole people united in political sympathies with the great population to the south. It made the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church in the same part of the country feel once more, as they did when the Continental Congress of 1775 attacked the Quebec Act, that the only visible danger to what they considered the sacred rights and privileges of their faith came from the other side of the international line. It, for a time, brought Canadians of French and English and American extraction together in defence of their hearths and homes and laid in this way an almost invisible foundation for that seemingly vain vision—the permanent federal union of British America for purposes of common interest, defence and government. It affected religious organisations which were becoming dependent on American pulpits, supplies and polity.

It affected social life and customs by drawing a more distinct line against innovations from the other side of the border. Finally, it greatly affected political development and assured the ultimate success of those who strove honestly, though often unsuccessfully and mistakenly in detail, to preserve and promote the permanent acceptance of British, as opposed to American principles of government upon the northern half of the continent.

It was an unjust, unnecessary and, to both the United States and Great Britain, an unsatisfactory war. To the British settlements and French colonists of the present Dominion it proved, however, a blessing in disguise and produced a page of glorious history which few would now like to see eliminated and which nearly all Canadians treasure as one of their dearest national possessions. The nominal causes of the struggle were simple and yet world-wide in their environment. During many years England had been facing the perils of Napoleon's stormy progress over Europe. One great Power after another had been shattered by his marvellous military genius and always before the eyes of his towering ambition was the recognised and steady policy of ultimately subjugating the British Isles. England had fought him on the ocean from the earliest days of his sweeping career and with a success which his proud spirit found it hard to brook. She had subsidised his opponents with enormous sums of money and on the sands of Egypt, the plains

of Hindostan and the fields of the Iberian Peninsula had presented her thin red line of armed men as the great preservative of European liberty. On November 1st, 1806, Napoleon had isssued from Berlin, where he was newly installed as the victor of Jena and Austerlitz, the "Decree" by which he declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade and merchandise from England to be a prize of war. He, at the same time, arrogantly commanded the cessation of all intercourse with Great Britain by neutral nations. England naturally retaliated, and early in the following year her Orders-in-Council proclaimed a blockade of the coast of Europe from Brest to the Elbe and declared all traffic with France in neutral vessels as contrabrand and the vessels and cargoes liable to seizure.

These proceedings affected greatly the large and growing carrying trade of the United States, and, as Great Britain practically controlled the seas, it was from her privateers and men-of-war that the American shipping interests suffered the most. Hence the "Non-Intercourse Act" of Congress, in 1808, by which all commerce with either Power was prohibited until the obnoxious regulations were repealed. Another point in dispute was the claim made by Great Britain to search ships upon the high seas suspected of having deserters from the British Navy amongst their crews and of removing such as might be found. It was a claim which had for centuries been enforced as a right. Its assertion

was now rendered necessary not only by the enormous expansion in the number of British ships but also by the fact that in 1805 it was estimated that at least 2,500 deserters of this kind—chiefly from merchant vessels—were in the American service. The practice was naturally unpleasant to a high-strung nation like the people of the United States, but had there been any real desire to obviate difficulties forced upon England by her strenuous struggle with France a means of returning these men to their legitimate service might easily have been found. A minor cause of trouble was the publication of some unimportant correspondence between Sir James Craig, Governor-General of British America, and an adventurer named Henry who had been sent by him, rather unwisely though not unreasonably, to ascertain the condition of public feeling in the States. Henry reported a disposition on the part of New England to secede from the Union and then—finding himself unable to force money from the authorities at Quebec—had sold the letters for $50,000 to the American Government.

These were the nominal causes of the war. They sufficed to inflame the smouldering embers of pre-revolutionary dislike and distrust and enabled President Madison, when an opportune moment of apparent British weakness arose, to accept the dictum of the war party in the Republic and to receive the Democratic nomination for a second Presidential term upon the pledge that a conflict should

be precipitated.* That the New England States were averse to the policy; that a Convention held at Albany, N.Y., in September, 1812, composed of delegates from various counties in the State, denounced the action of the Administration in this respect; that the best element in the general population was opposed to it; that the British Orders-in-Council were revoked five days before the declaration of war—did not affect the carrying out of the hostile policy or Madison's triumphant re-election to the supreme place in the national councils. That such was the case is due to the avowed reasons for the war not having been the real ones. The truth is that despite the lack of consideration shown to the United States in many directions by Napoleon, and despite his creation of an arbitrary system of government which was absolutely the antipodes of democracy, there had been during all these years a feeling of sympathy towards France in the minds of the mass of the American people which arose, perhaps naturally, from cherished memories of Lafayette and of French assistance at the most critical juncture of their war for independence. Added to this was an admiration for the military achievements of the Emperor which in later days has resulted in a sort of literary deification of his career. Still more to the point was a feeling of continuous irritation against England arising out of internal discon-

* Kingsford, *History of Canada*, vol. 8, p. 171.

tent and the lack of material progress; increased by the dominating influence of British manufactures and goods in the local markets and consequent depression in local industries; inflamed by the voices of demagogues who exaggerated every issue and incident into handles for personal popularity and political power. Back of all, and influencing all, was the partially concealed but none the less strong desire of the leaders of the day to round off the Republic by the possession of northern America.

When war was declared by the American President on the 18th of June, 1812, the action afforded an exultant moment of anticipation to the American Republic, an added depression to greatly-burdened England, and proffered many tragic possibilities to the little British population scattered along the 1,800 miles of frontier. Never in her prolonged struggle with Napoleon had public opinion in Great Britain been so depressed. She stood absolutely alone in Europe. The French Emperor was the practically acknowledged master of Prussia and the minor States of Germany as well as of Switzerland, Italy, Austria and Spain; and with an immense army had begun a march into Russia which promised to be a final triumph before the realisation of his intention to combine the forces of the conquered continent in a supreme attack upon British power. No wonder if thoughtful men in the British Isles drew their breath in doubt when the announcement came that the United States had thrown its weight

into the scale against their country; and wondered how long the titanic struggle could be maintained by their population of eighteen millions. Little wonder also if Americans thought that their time had come, as well as that of the French, for the complete subjugation of a continent. As to Canada it was not believed that she could offer anything but a nominal resistance. Jefferson declared the expulsion of England from the continent to be "a mere matter of marching." Eustis, Secretary of War, announced that "we can take Canada without soldiers." Henry Clay thought the Canadas "as much under our command as she (Great Britain) has the ocean." Part of this impression had no doubt been created by the false reports of American settlers in Upper Canada as to the existence of internal disloyalty; part by the fact that there were only 4,450 regular troops in the whole country; part by the tremendous disparity in population and strength between the Republic and the Provinces; part by the belief that France would practically keep England out of the struggle.

But two factors were overlooked. One was the indomitable spirit of a people fighting in a just cause for their homes, their institutions and their country. The other was the presence in their midst of a soldier possessed of magnetic personal qualities combined with a real, though unknown, genius for war. Major-General Sir Isaac Brock was forty-three years old when the struggle began—he had been

born in the same year as Wellington and Napoleon —and had served in Holland and at Copenhagen before he came to Canada with the 49th Regiment in 1802. He had held command of the troops in Upper Canada since 1806 and had also assumed the administration of the Provincial Government in 1811. He had done his best to prepare for the war which to his mind was inevitable—as it had seemed to Simcoe away back in 1794—and to meet the undisguised gathering of American troops and militia in New York and other border States. But the British Government naturally hoped against hope to avert this additional burden upon the over-strained resources of its people, and really seems to have believed that the arbitrament of war might be avoided. In February, 1812, Brock had opened the Upper Canada Legislature with a patriotic speech expressing the desire to adopt "such measures as will best secure the internal peace of the country and defeat every hostile aggression." His difficulties, however, were very great. Arms and equipment were exceedingly scarce. A certain proportion of the militia was cold and even disloyal, and there was a distinctly American party in the House of Assembly led by a man named Wilcocks—who afterwards fled to the United States and was killed fighting as an American officer. Through his influence the House actually refused to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act so as to enable the Government to deal peremptorily with the disaffected element in the population.

Under such circumstances, when the news of the declaration of war reached Brock through a private source, he knew that everything would depend upon swift and sweeping action. He promptly sent some regulars to try and hold the Niagara frontier, summoned the Legislature, called out the militia and made such preparations as he could pending the receipt of official information regarding the action of the United States. It did not come, but on July 11th General Hull crossed the St. Clair River from Detroit to Sandwich with 2,000 men and issued a braggadocio proclamation announcing protection to all non-combatants, declaring the certainty of conquest and relief from British "tyranny and oppression," and stating that if the British Government accepted assistance from its Indian subjects in resisting his invasion "instant destruction" would be the lot of all who might be captured fighting beside an Indian contingent. Brock replied with a most eloquent, dignified and patriotic manifesto, and on July 27th met the Legislature with an address which was a model in sentiment and expression. By the 8th of August Hull had returned again to Detroit on hearing of the capture of the important American position, at Michilimackinac, by Captain Roberts in pursuance of orders from his chief. One week later Brock, with 320 regulars and 400 militia from York and Lincoln, assisted by the gallant Indian chief Tecumseh and some six hundred followers, was crossing the St. Clair

in pursuit of his enemy. Hull had been startled, first by a summons to surrender and then by seeing the little British army crossing the River—General Brock "erect in his canoe leading the way to battle" as Tecumseh in graphic Indian style afterwards described the event. Before an assault could be made, however, Hull and his entire force of 2,500 men, including the 4th United States Regiment and its colours, surrendered. With the capitulation went the entire Territory of Michigan; the town and port of Detroit, which practically commanded the whole of Western Canada; the Adams war brig; many stands of arms, a large quantity of much-needed stores, 33 pieces of cannon and the military chest. It had been a bold, a venturesome action on the part of Brock, and the result affected almost the entire struggle. It inspirited the militia from end to end of the Provinces; it showed many of those having disloyal tendencies that it might be safer to at least appear loyal; it electrified the masses with vigour and fresh determination.

Following this all-important action Brock turned to meet greater difficulties than were presented by the enemy in the field. He had to encounter the weakness and vacillation of Sir George Prevost who, as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, was directing affairs from Quebec in the spirit of one who believed hostilities would soon cease and knew that the Ministry at home was anxious to do nothing that would intensify difficul-

ties in that connection. An armistice arranged by Prevost neutralised many of the benefits of the capture of Detroit; orders from the same source prevented Brock from destroying American shipping on the Lakes which was in course of building and which he foresaw might endanger the control of that most vital part of the situation; commands actually issued for the evacuation of Detroit, though they were fortunately capable of evasion; while the very documents and general orders written by Prevost were dispiriting and unfortunate in terms. But Brock turned to his militia, and though refused the right of aggressive action which might have changed the whole tide of events, he proceeded with a system of organisation which soon made his volunteer force as effective in health, drill, condition and spirit as well-equipped regular troops. And, through the summary measures of imprisonment or practical banishment accorded to those who showed an overt inclination to the American side—coupled with the magnetic influence of his own character and strong personal confidence in the result of the struggle—he obtained full control over the population as well as the Legislature. He made every effort to give the volunteers an opportunity for getting in their crops, and all over the Province the women themselves helped by working in the fields. Throughout this conflict, indeed, the signal devotion of noble women was continuously added to a record of determined defence of their country by

the men, and the incident of Laura Secord walking many miles through snake-infested swamps and a gloomy forest region to give a British force warning of the enemy's approach was by no means an isolated case of devotion.

On the 18th of September, while his preparations were still in progress, Brock wrote his brother that in a short time he would hear of a decisive action and added: "If I should be beaten the Province is lost." * This reference to the gathering of 8,000 American troops upon the border for invasion, by way of Niagara, illustrates the tremendous importance of the ensuing conflict at Queenston Heights. Their intention was to take and hold this strong position as a fortified camp and from thence overrun the Province with troops brought over at leisure from the vast reserves behind. At the same time General Dearborn with a large force was to menace Montreal from New York State by way of Lake Champlain, General Harrison was to invade the Upper Province from Michigan with 6,000 men, and Commodore Chauncey was to take a force across Lake Ontario. The first part of the programme commenced on October 13th with an attempted movement of 1,500 regulars and 2,500 militia across the Niagara River. About eleven hundred troops, slowly followed by other detachments, succeeded in getting over and climbed the Heights at Queenston

* Tupper's *Life of Brock*, p. 314.

in the face of what slight resistance could be offered by a small British outpost. If the Americans could hold their position the result was certain and would no doubt have been much in line with their expectations. Meantime Sir Isaac Brock—unknown to himself he had been gazetted an extra Knight of the Bath one week before as a recognition of his victory at Detroit—had arrived from the post at Fort George from which he had been watching matters. But before he could do anything further than show himself to his troops, size up the situation and shout out an order to "Push on the York Volunteers" in resistance of an American contingent which was making its way up the Heights, he fell with a ball in his breast and only had time to request that his death be concealed from the soldiers. The event was amply avenged. Reinforcements under Major-General Sheaffe which had been ordered to the front arrived shortly afterwards, and with 800 men in hand a bayonet charge was made upon the enemy which forced them over the Heights down towards the shore—many in their headlong retreat being dashed to pieces amidst the rocks or drowned in attempting to cross the wild waters of the Niagara. The survivors surrendered to the ultimate total of 960 men, and included Major-General Wadsworth, six colonels and 56 other officers, together with Winfield Scott, afterwards celebrated in the Mexican contest. The British loss was trifling in numbers. But, although the victory

was great and its result exceedingly important to Upper Canada, nothing could counterbalance the mournful death of the hero of the war. The inspiration of his memory remained, it is true, and was lasting in its effects, but the presence of his fertile intellect, his powers of rapid movement, his genius for military organisation, were for ever lost. Had he lived his name would have been a great one in the annals of the British army and the world. As it is, although his place is secure in the web and woof of Canadian history and in the hearts of the people, it has in too many British and American records of war been relegated to the position held by myriads of gallant officers who have simply done their duty and died in some obscure outpost skirmish. The vast import of the issues and influences decided by these first events of the struggle are in such cases disregarded or unknown.

Winter was now at hand, and, after a futile invasion from Buffalo under General Smyth, which was repulsed by a few troops commanded by Colonel Bisshopp, the scene of the conflict moved for a brief moment to Lower Canada. Prevost had his difficulties there, as well as Brock in the other Province, but he was without the latter's vigour and determination. He had succeeded to the troubles of Sir James Craig's Administration and found a community violently stirred by frothy agitations and by influences which had been developing from peculiar conditions during some years past. So great

was the apparent discord that it had undoubtedly helped the war party in the States to spread the belief that the passive French-Canadians of 1776 were now at last active in their antagonism to British rule. But when war was once declared the local Legislature showed no hesitation in supporting the Government—and in this proved superior in its loyalty to the little Assembly at York which had allowed Wilcocks and his followers to momentarily block procedure. The Governor-General was authorised to levy and equip 2,000 men and, in case of invasion, to arm the whole militia of the Province. The members voted £32,000 for purposes of defence and at the next session granted £15,000 a year for five years in order to pay the interest on the issue of army bills. It may be stated here that the Upper Canada Legislature had in February, 1812, also recognised the immediate need of money by authorising General Brock to issue army bills to the extent of £500,000 currency—two million dollars. The payment of the interest was guaranteed, and in January, 1814, the authorised amount of issue was increased to £1,500,000 currency—six million dollars. The total circulation of these bills does not appear to have ever exceeded $4,820,000. The financial arrangements in both Provinces were excellently made. No public officer was allowed to profit by the use of the notes and the payment of the interest was carefully attended to. In December, 1815, it may be added, the bills were called in

and redeemed by Sir Gordon Drummond, then Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada, on behalf of the Imperial Government. Meanwhile, some ten thousand men under General Dearborn had threatened the Lower Province from near Lake Champlain, but, after a brief demonstration which was checked by the Montreal militia under command of Major de Salaberry, the American forces all along the line retired into winter quarters and the Canadas found that they had come through the first campaign of the war without a defeat or the loss of a foot of ground—although some progress was made by the Americans in obtaining that command of the Lakes which Brock had been so wisely anxious to avert.

The campaign of 1813 was not quite so pleasant an experience. It opened successfully for the British and Canadian forces. On January 19th, Colonel Procter with 500 British regulars and 800 Indians under the Wyandotte Chief, Roundhead, crossed the frozen St. Clair and two days later attacked General Winchester, who had about an equal number of men under him. After a severe battle in which he lost by death or wounds 182 men Procter won a decisive victory and took 495 prisoners. The loss to the enemy in killed was between three and four hundred men. It was a dearly purchased success, however, as it won for Procter a reputation which he sadly failed to live up to. Colonel McDonell, who had raised a strong regiment amongst the gal-

lant Highland Catholics of the Glengarry settlement, on February 23d attacked Ogdensburg in New York State—from which some predatory excursions had come during the winter—and captured eleven guns, a large quantity of ordnance and military stores and two armed schooners. Four officers and 70 privates were taken prisoners. But in April Commodore Chauncey, with a fleet of fourteen ships and 1,700 troops, sailed from Sackett's Harbour on the New York coast of Lake Ontario for York (Toronto), which was then a small town, of some eight hundred population, containing the Government buildings of the Province. Under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Pike the American forces landed on April 27th, but were for some time held in check by the determined resistance of two companies of the 8th Regiment and about 200 Canadian militia. The Fort, situated at some distance from the little town, was finally captured after an accidental explosion in which Pike and 260 of his men were killed. As the advance was continued, General Sheaffe with his small force of regulars withdrew and retreated to Kingston. The town then surrendered, with some 250 militia, and despite the terms of capitulation was freely pillaged and all its public buildings burned. Even the church was robbed of its plate and the Legislative Library looted. In this latter connection Chauncey expressed great indignation and made a personal effort to restore some of the stolen books.

Incidents of importance now came swiftly one upon the other. On May 27, Fort George on the British side of the Niagara River was captured by the Americans, and two days later Sir George Prevost was repulsed in an attack upon Sackett's Harbour on Lake Ontario. Early in June two American gunboats were captured on Lake Champlain, and on the 5th of the same month Colonel Harvey —a soldier with some of Brock's brilliant qualities and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick—attacked in the night a large force of at least 3,500 Americans encamped at Burlington Heights, near the Hamilton of later days, and captured a number of guns, two general officers and over a hundred other officers and men. On the 24th of June Lieutenant Fitzgibbon of the 49th Regiment, by a clever concealment of his numbers, forced the surrender of 544 American soldiers under Colonel Boerstler, not far from Fort George and Queenston. He had only some 66 troops and 250 Indians in his command. During the next two months the British captured Black Rock, where they lost the gallant Colonel Bisshopp, and Fort Schlosser—both on the Niagara frontier. Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, was captured and the public buildings burned in memory of York. The latter place was taken a second time by the Americans. Then came the disastrous British defeat on Lake Erie where Captain Barclay, with six vessels and 300 seamen was beaten by Commodore Perry with nine vessels and

double the number of men. Not only disastrous but disgraceful was the ensuing defeat of General Procter, near Moraviantown, by General Harrison, who had driven him from Detroit and Amherstburg. Procter was retreating steadily with some 400 troops, and 800 Indians under Tecumseh, pursued by the American force of 4,000 men. The battle was fought on October 5th and the natural result followed, with, however, the added loss of Tecumseh. The disgrace to Procter, who fled early in the day and who was afterwards court-martialled, censured and deprived of all command for six months, was not in defeat under such circumstances, but in the utter lack of all proper military precautions either at the time of the conflict or during his previous retreat. The death of the great Indian chief was one of the severest blows to the Canadian cause in the whole campaign. It was more important even than the fact that this victory placed the entire western part of the Province in the hands of the Americans. The territory might be won back; the leader never. Tecumseh was a savage of heroic mould—one who inspired victory, and who when acting with men like Brock or Harvey was almost invincible. His Indians would do anything for him—even refrain from massacre or cruelty—and the fear of him felt by the Americans was shown in the unfortunate indignities offered to his corpse.

The next two months saw some events of brighter import, and attention must now be transferred to

Lower Canada. The French-Canadians earnestly and enthusiastically showed their love for the land of their birth and home by turning out in large numbers and in fighting bravely on the field of Chateauguay. By October an army of 8,000 men had been collected at Sackett's Harbour, N.Y., under Generals Wilkinson and Boyd for a descent upon Montreal by way of the St. Lawrence. As these forces descended the river they were followed by a small and compact body of British troops under Colonels Pearson, Harvey, Morrison and Plenderleath, accompanied by eight gunboats and three field-pieces which did much damage to the enemy. On November 11th Wilkinson and his main army were with the flotilla near Prescott and on the way to effect a junction with an army under General Hampton which was to meet them at the mouth of the Chateauguay. General Boyd with 2,500 men was marching along the shore followed by 800 British troops under Colonel Morrison, who had resolved to attack the enemy at a place called Chrystler's Farm. The result was one of the most complete victories of the war—the Americans leaving many prisoners besides 339 officers and men killed or wounded. The British loss was 181. Boyd immediately retired to his boats and joined Wilkinson. They then proceeded to the place at which the junction with Hampton was to be made and from whence they were to advance upon Montreal.

Meanwhile Hampton had marched from Lake

Champlain with 7,000 men toward the mouth of the Chateauguay. At this point and amidst the natural difficulties of forest surroundings, he was met on the night of October 25th by Colonel de Salaberry in command of 300 French-Canadian militia and a few Indians, supported by Colonel McDonell with another French-Canadian contingent of 600 men —who had made the most rapid forced march in Canadian history and had reached Chateauguay the day before the battle. The Americans advanced upon the first line with 4,000 men, but, on driving it back, they met the second line under Colonel McDonell and here encountered the stratagem of buglers placed at great distances from each other and sounding their instruments so as to give the impression of large numbers, while at the same time the bewildering yells and war-cries of some fifty scattered Indians greatly increased the tumult. The immediate result was the defeat of the American forces, their retreat on the next day and consequent failure to meet Wilkinson. The later result was the collapse of the attempted invasion of Lower Canada—the defeat of an elaborate campaign made by some 15,000 men through the timely gallantry and clever leadership of less than 2,000. One of the curious incidents of the Battle of Chateauguay was when Colonel de Salaberry, his first line of troops being forced back by overwhelming numbers, held his own ground in the darkness, with a bugler boy whom he caused to sound the advance

for McDonell—thus giving the latter an opportunity to put into effect the stratagem which led the American General to think he was opposed by seven or eight thousand men. A less pleasing incident was the mean and even untruthful manner in which Prevost endeavoured in his despatches to take the whole credit of this victory to himself.* Despite this the facts became known in some measure, and at the end of the war McDonell and De Salaberry were each decorated with a C.B.

In Upper Canada during this period there had been another glaring evidence of Prevost's incapacity. Frightened by the apparent results of Procter's defeat near Moraviantown he had ordered the British Commander at Burlington and York (General Vincent) to abandon all his posts and retire upon Kingston. Had this been done the Upper Province would have been practically in American hands. Instead of doing so, however, Vincent maintained his ground and Colonel Murray, with some 378 regulars and a few volunteers and Indians, was given permission some weeks later to advance upon the enemy who, with 2,700 men under General McClure, was holding Fort George. On December 10th the latter evacuated the Fort, but before doing so wantonly and cruelly burned to the ground the neighbouring village of Newark (now Niagara). It was a cold winter's night and the beautiful little village contained chiefly women and children—as the

* Notably that of 31st October, 1813.

men were either away at the front or had been sent as prisoners across the river. The unfortunate inhabitants were turned out into the snow without shelter and in many cases very scantily clothed. British retribution was swift. The American Fort Niagara, just across the river, was promptly stormed and held till the end of the war, and the neighbouring villages of Lewiston, Youngstown, Manchester and Tuscarora were burned. Fort Schlosser was destroyed and Buffalo captured and burned. These events closed the campaign of 1813, at the end of which the Americans only held possession of Amherstburg on the frontier of Upper Canada, and besides losing all the benefits of Harrison's success against the incapable Procter, had also lost Fort Niagara on the American side and with it the control of the frontier in that direction.

General Sir Gordon Drummond, a brave and able officer, had meanwhile become Administrator and Commander in Upper Canada, and this fact had much to do with the succeeding struggle of 1814. The next campaign commenced with another advance from Lake Champlain by 4,000 men under General Wilkinson. It was checked and eventually repulsed on March 30th by a gallant handful of some three hundred men commanded by Major Handcock, at Lacolle's Mill—a small stone building on the Lacolle River, and about a third of the way between Plattsburg and Montreal. Wilkinson retired again to the former place. A little later Michilimackinac

was relieved by Colonel McDonell, and in May Sir Gordon Drummond and Sir James Yeo, the naval commander, captured Fort Oswego on the New York side of Lake Ontario, together with some valuable naval stores. Meantime some minor defeats had been encountered by British detachments, and early in July Major-General Brown with 5,000 troops, backed by 4,000 New York militia which had been ordered out and authorised for the war, invaded Upper Canada from Buffalo. To meet this attack Drummond had about 4,000 effective regulars, depleted, however, by the necessity of garrisoning a number of important posts. His difficulties in meeting this invasion had been increased by the seeming impossibility of making Prevost understand the situation and the need of reinforcements. The latter could only see the menace offered to Lower Canada by the massed forces at Lake Champlain. Fort Erie surrendered to the Americans on July 3d and General Riall was defeated at Chippewa two days later with the loss of 511 men killed and wounded. The victorious American advance was checked, however, at Lundy's Lane, where Sir Gordon Drummond, who had come up from Kingston with some 800 men, assumed command and fought on July 25th, within sound of the roar of Niagara Falls and in the most beautiful part of a fertile region, the fiercest battle of the whole war, and one which continued during the greater part of a dark night. The victory is vari-

ously claimed, but the bare facts are that, after trying for six hours with 5,000 men to force a British position held by half that number, Brown had to retire to Chippewa with a loss of 930 men, as against Drummond's loss of 870. On the 26th he retreated to Fort Erie and was there shortly after attacked unsuccessfully by the British with a loss to the latter of 500 men. Here, until September, he was blockaded within the walls of the Fort.

Meanwhile the struggle with Napoleon in Europe being temporarily over, 16,000 trained and experienced British soldiers had landed at Quebec. Prevost advanced with a force of 12,000 of these troops to Plattsburg, where he was to meet and co-operate with the British fleet on Lake Champlain. The latter was defeated, however, and the British General, with an army which under Brock might have threatened New York City itself, ignominiously retreated in the face of two or three thousand American soldiers. So far as the Canadas were concerned territorially this practically ended the war.

Despite Prevost's disgrace at Plattsburg * the campaign for the year terminated with the British in control of Lake Ontario—although the Americans were masters of Lake Erie—and with their possession of several forts on American soil, to say nothing of the border portion of the State of Maine.

* He was recalled and only escaped a court-martial by his death.

In the Maritime Provinces the struggle had not been severely felt. Major-General Sir John Cope Sherbrooke was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and, through the vicinity of the British fleet at Halifax and the presence of a sufficient number of regulars, was able in 1814 to make a series of attacks upon the coast of Maine until the whole region from the Penobscot to the St. Croix was in British hands. At the same time Sherbrooke had kept sending troops up to Canada whenever possible, and the march of the 104th Regiment in February, 1813, through hundreds of miles of frozen wilderness, was of special interest as well as importance. Elsewhere on sea and land the war had been equally varied. A number of naval victories had been won by the United States as well as by Great Britain, but, excluding the actions fought in Canadian waters, there seems in nearly every case of American success to have been a great superiority in men, guns, metal and tonnage.* The purely British part of the campaign of 1814 included the capture of the City of Washington and the burning of its public buildings in revenge for the previous harrying of the Niagara frontier and the burnings at York and Newark. An unsuccessful attempt was also made upon Baltimore. Early in 1815 General Pakenham was defeated in an attempt to capture New Orleans. The terrible bloodshed of

* An elaborate comparative statement is given by Dr. Kingsford, *History of Canada*, vol. 8, p. 428.

this last struggle of the war—over 2,000 British troops were reported killed, wounded or missing—was the result of ignorance of the fact that on December 24th, 1814, a treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent.

The ultimate results of this war upon the destinies of Canada have been briefly indicated. Its immediate effects upon the various countries concerned were more clear. The Americans obtained not a foot of British territory and not a solitary sentimental advantage by the struggle. Their seaboard was insulted and injured, their capital city partially destroyed, and three thousand of their vessels captured. The immense gain to their carrying trade which had accrued to them as a result of England's conflict with Napoleon was neutralised, while their annual exports were reduced to almost nothing and their commercial classes nearly ruined. A vast war-tax was incurred and New England rendered disaffected for many years to come. The twin questions of right of search and the position of neutrals in time of war, which had been the nominal causes of the conflict, were not even mentioned in the Treaty of Ghent. Some military and naval glory was won, but the odds were in favour of the United States throughout the struggle, and, when England's hands were finally freed by Wellington's march upon Paris the war ceased. In many of these conflicts, however, both on sea and land—notably in the famous duel of the Chesapeake

and the Shannon when Sir Provo Wallis, of Nova Scotian birth, laid the foundation of fame and fortune—United States soldiers and seamen showed all the courage and skill of the race from which they had sprung. To Great Britain the war was only one more military and naval burden. It added to her difficulties in fighting France, subsidising Europe and holding the seas against the sweeping ambitions of Napoleon. But her struggle for life and death had been so prolonged in this connection, and the shadow of its wings so dark and menacing, that the conflict in Canada did not then, and has not since, attracted the attention it deserved.

While this was natural enough at that period the time has now come when the position should be changed and the memories of Brock and De Salaberry, Morrison and McDonell, Harvey and Drummond, be given their place in the historic pantheon of empire. Canadian difficulties in this struggle should be understood, the courage of its people comprehended, the results of the conflict appreciated. Out of their tiny population over five thousand militiamen in Upper Canada and twenty-three thousand in Lower Canada were under arms during some portion of the period, and to these Provinces many and many a vacant seat at the fireside, many a ruined home and shattered fortune, many a broken life and constitution remained after peace had been long proclaimed. Few had hoped for success in the struggle; still fewer had expected to gain by it.

Through the influx of money from Britain, and by the good fortune of holding the greater part of the country free from conquest, there was a degree of prosperity prevalent during the last two years of the war. But it was the fleeting result of partial successes and with the termination of the conflict came reaction and a realisation of the stern bed-rock of misery which all invasions must cause the population of the country attacked. And that suffering was sufficient to finally build into Canadian life and Canadian institutions a sentiment which has made independence of the United States absolute and has helped to make unity with Great Britain the great factor in the history of Canada at the end of the century.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN BRITISH AMERICA.

The first and part of the second quarter of the century saw the foundations of the Canadian social structure laid. It was then that the character and customs of the people were irrevocably fixed. In Upper Canada and the Maritime Provinces this development involved the upbuilding of a nation in the backwoods—the evolution of civilised and cultured life out of surroundings of poverty, labour and hardship. In Lower Canada it was the adaptation, in some measure, of old-time French customs and institutions to life under a new flag, accompanied by strange extraneous principles of government. The cities of Quebec and Montreal illustrated the latter conditions. Society was strictly divided upon national lines and the political crisis, as it steadily developed up to the Rebellion of 1837, affected, as it was affected by, the social relationship of the races. During the respective Administrations of Sir John Sherbrooke, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Aylmer, and Lord Gosford there were varying degrees of brilliance in social entertainment and of limited intercourse between French and English. But upon the whole the English element in the Lower

Province was an official, commercial and military class, and in a social sense was formed around the person of the Governor-General or Lieutenant-Governor as a sort of central star. It was not usually the fault of the incumbents of those high offices that such was the case. Over and over again efforts were made to bring the leaders of the two races into harmonious social intercourse, but it was found that political bitterness and racial rivalry were too extreme for even such a modification of conditions. It was an unfortunate situation, because the separation increased a certain arrogance in the manner and bearing of the English elements while it added to the political hostility of the French—and left each class ignorant of the real virtues of the other.

There was much of culture and travelled experience in the one branch of Lower Canada Society during these years; much of French courtesy and characteristic brilliancy in the other. Chief-Justice Sewell, who has been described as a good dramatist, a fair musician, a critical student of poetry and a very facile writer of verse, may be said to have illustrated the better portion of English life at this time as M. Pierre Bédard, with his love of knowledge, simplicity of manners and moderation of view did the French element. There was, of course, a pronounced air of military life about Montreal and Quebec. One or more British regiments were always stationed in the principal towns of the different Provinces. In 1839 there were three in

Montreal and six others scattered through Lower Canada, at Quebec, L'Acadie, Sorel, etc., while Halifax had three, Kingston two, and Fredericton, London and Toronto one each. Of course this was a special period following the excitement of the Rebellion and there were then more than twenty such regiments stationed in British America. Naturally their presence lent gaiety to the social life of the cities and towns, and, naturally also, they tended to further separate the French and English classes in Lower Canada. The French-Canadian gentry in the first half of the century were more numerous than in later days and were a body of men whom any country or Province might be proud to possess. Descendants in many cases of the old French *noblesse;* Seigneurs established upon their estates and dispensing an hospitality as generous as their manners were urbane and their conversation correct in terms and charming in style; they gave a tone to society in the country districts and small centres which it sometimes did not possess in the larger towns and amongst the English themselves. Amusements were not very different in the early years of the century from what they are at the end of that period. The blending of an Italian summer with a Russian winter gave to outside pleasures the same varied colour. Water excursions, picnic parties, fishing, shooting, and occasional races on the Plains of Abraham were the recreations of the hot season, while balls, assemblies, skating parties and sleigh-

driving were the pleasures of the time when ice bound up the St. Lawrence and snow was piled high upon the roads and streets.

In some measure this description applies to all classes in Lower Canada. The *habitant* entertained as well as the Seigneur. His dances and festivities were less formal and perhaps more joyous. His sleigh-bells could be heard on all the passable roads of the Province during winter, and he rejoiced in the picturesque toboggan as well as in an occasional skate. During summer also he took life fairly easy, and his comparatively small strips of soil were kept in cultivation without the tremendous labour which the large farms of the other Provinces entailed upon the smaller households of the settlers. His family might be larger but his wants were less and his contentment greater, while, if the Church took from him a good deal in tithes, it gave him back much in the form of encouragement to that brighter side of life which so often means happiness to a Frenchman and makes even his religion and his politics a pleasure. The church door was the centre of much of the social life of the *habitant* in these years as in a lesser sense it still is. There the peasants gathered from many miles away, discussed the news of the day, made appointments and arranged amusements for the week, and there, unfortunately, when politics grew bitter and disaffection rife a good deal of plotting was done against the powers of the day. The *habitant* was nothing

if not picturesque. Men and maidens alike were passionately fond of colours, although their clothing was too rough and simple to permit of much variety in texture and style. But belts, sashes and kerchiefs gave them a chance to show this fancy, and amongst the upper classes coloured leggings, belts and embroidered moccasins could still be seen. In Montreal and Quebec an infinite variety of people might be observed on the streets. Athletic and jolly Highlanders, tall and talkative Americans, groups of Indians—tawdry looking and fallen from their high estate—black-robed priests and nuns, army officers in brilliant uniform, soldiers of constantly changing regiments, students in academical garb, North-West merchants and *voyageurs* and adventurers in every form of varied and picturesque attire, Englishmen in the dress of Piccadilly, and natives in an infinite variety of backwoods' garb. Up to the middle of the century there was in both of these cities a curious commingling of the appearance and customs of a frontier town and a European capital.

Halifax, the centre of social life in the Maritime Province, was unlike any other place upon the continent. Here came at intervals British Governors going to, or coming from, the other Provinces, with all the accompaniment of brilliant balls and receptions. Here was not only the seat of Government of Nova Scotia but the official abode of the Admiral commanding the Atlantic squadron. Here resided,

for a number of years, H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, and to this station Prince William Henry, afterwards Duke of Clarence and King William Fourth, paid sundry visits. Here in the early years of the century stayed at times such well-known naval men as Sir John Borlase Warren, Sir Andrew Mitchell, Sir Alexander Cochrane, Sir David Milne and the famous Earl of Dundonald (1797). Here Sir John Wentworth, Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir James Kempt, Sir Peregrine Maitland and Sir Colin Campbell dispensed the hospitalities of Government House with varying degrees of social success. The amusements were not dissimilar to those of Montreal and Quebec. Riding was much indulged in, and regattas upon the magnificent harbour were a frequent source of pleasure, while horse-racing had been in 1833 established for some time on a fairly good scale. There was, of course, no racial division, and entertainments were conducted according to the strictest English fashion and rules of etiquette. There were in these years few manufacturers or labourers in the city and those of the latter class who were there are described by a traveller of the day who spoke with some authority * as being "always better dressed than in England."

The manners and customs of all the Maritime Provinces partook much of the characteristics of their earlier settlers—and were accordingly largely Loyalist or Scotch. During these years the people of

* John McGregor (1833), *British America*, vol. 1, p. 333.

New Brunswick, after the first pioneer period when agriculture was necessarily the chief occupation, became mainly engaged in the timber business, while those of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were still occupied chiefly in cultivating the soil and fisheries. The people of Prince Edward Island were largely agriculturalists. In type, a good part of the Atlantic population gradually approximated to that of the tall and muscular American. In social matters St. John, in New Brunswick, and in fact the greater part of the people in that Province, followed very largely the customs and habits of the United States. This statement applies chiefly to the masses, as the governing, or aristocratic, element in the community clung strenuously to the social practices of England or of the Thirteen Colonies prior to the Revolution. It was natural that such should be the case. The Loyalists, or their descendants, were supreme in these years—even more so than in Halifax where the military and naval influence was very great—and they cherished the traditions which had come to them from those whom a well-known American writer * has described as "the best material we had, in staunch moral traits, intellectual leadership, social position and wealth." The Acadian part of the population did not change much during these years and remains even now largely what it was in the eighteenth century. There had been occa-

* Charles Dudley Warner, in *Harper's Magazine*, March, 1889.

sional intermixture with the Indians, while the fashions were those of the old French peasantry—moccasins and wooden shoes being still in frequent use. Music and dancing were most popular amusements, weddings were the occasion for the feasting of a whole village, Sunday was a day of gaiety and pleasure. Industrious, but not enterprising, virtuous, honest and inoffensive, the Acadian contributed a quietly useful element to the development of the Provinces, but one which was not so influential in the first half of the century as it became in later days. Outside of the two cities the evolution of population in the Maritime Provinces, between 1800 and 1840, took the form of a welding together of Scotch settlers and farmers, and later American residents—intent on speculative possibilities in the timber and other trades—with lesser numbers of English and Irish emigrants. The Loyalist class kept somewhat apart, and this separation had a pronounced effect upon the political struggles which, though very mild prior to 1830, became for decades after that date somewhat fiery in quality and interesting in character.

In Upper Canada the social development of the people was more complex than in the other Provinces. The military element, though an interesting local feature in the still small towns of York and Kingston, or in London village upon the Thames, was never strong enough to control or greatly modify the social structure as a whole. There were no

rival races as in Lower Canada, although there were very pronounced rival tendencies and some extraneous national customs. But they were in no case so pronounced as to overpower all others, and the result was that gradually and imperceptibly the Loyalist customs of pre-revolution days, the more modern American habits and ideas of social equality, the aristocratic tendencies of military officers, the peculiarities of Scotch and Irish and English settlements, the national traits of French-Canadian and German villages, became gradually, though by no means fully or perhaps even clearly, merged in a new national type. Up to the year 1841 it is questionable if this process could be plainly discerned by the passing observer, but it was none the less in these years that its foundation was laid and the national evolution of Canadian character and customs really commenced. Even yet, at this end of the century, abundant traces can be found in the United Empire Loyalist settlements along the St. Lawrence, around the Bay of Quinte and in the Niagara Peninsula of the superior culture and standing of that particular class of settler. So, during these years, the Highland settlement of Glengarry, the migration of English gentlemen and military officers to the vicinity of Cobourg, the Irish colony around Peterborough, the military settlement at Perth, the Talbot settlement in Elgin County, the Canada Company's colonies in the Huron Tract, the Paisley operatives in Wellington, the Germans

in Waterloo, Huron and Renfrew, the French-Canadians who overflowed into Prescott and Russell Counties, or who had survived in Essex County from the days when France held sway down into the Ohio Valley, each left some peculiar impress of character, and often of language, upon the respective localities.

During the first quarter of the century the situation was too strenuous and the immigration not sufficiently influential, or varied, to permit of any marked process of class assimilation or class antagonism. The society of the Province was Loyalist and official, the Government of the Province, outside of occasional developments in the Assembly, was also Loyalist in character. But most people, whether of this class or belonging to the newcomers of the period, were too busy subduing the soil and clearing the forest to attend very much to social pursuits. Even politics were neglected for work in the fields.

Slowly the log-cabins gave way to more commodious houses; chopping and logging parties of settlers were succeeded in many places by the employment of paid labourers; the gorgeous costume of a gentleman in the earlier Georgian era—which was often all the clothing the first settlers had—gave way to homespun garments and then again to clothes more suited to still changing conditions; the travelling preacher was replaced by a building of what was still termed the Established Church, or perhaps by a Methodist chapel; distance was modified by the creation of better roads; pork and pump-

kin pie gave place in many a home to the roast beef and dainties of a long past day; wolves, lynxes and bears became scarcer and less fearful to the women and children of the separated settlements or isolated homesteads; and gradually the customs and culture of civilised society became again the privilege of the Colonist.

But even at the end of this forty-year milestone in the century there was much that was primitive in Upper Canadian conditions. The country houses were still wooden structures, in the main clapboarded and often painted red or yellow. The interior was not framed with any apparent view to organised comfort or the saving of labour; and architecture was evidently not yet a scientific principle, or practice, with the average farmer, settler or village merchant. The old-fashioned fireplace and ovens, the strong and plain and inartistic furniture, the absence of all modern fads or fripperies and even of carpets and curtains, the bone-handled knives and iron forks or spoons, the light of the tallow dip (produced in many cases by long and wearisome domestic manufacture), the rough implements of the farmer, which included scythes and cradles and flails, were all indicative of what now seem like archaic conditions. Yet these things were comforts, and even luxuries, compared to the possessions and surroundings of two decades before.

About 1820 this development took a new turn. The War of 1812 and its immediate effects were no

longer felt and a new population was beginning to come into the country, while more and more the men who had been born within its bounds were taking an interest in affairs and imbibing opinions from its history and surrounding conditions. Upon the people then living in Canada, and on their sons and daughters, the war had left the sometimes imperceptible but always imperishable mark which all such conflicts must leave—whether for good or ill. It tended to crystallise the rapidly forming social conditions into a faint imitation of the classes surrounding the British throne and into an organised antagonism to American democracy. This was natural under the circumstances, and it must be admitted that the Loyalist gentry during this period made an admirable social element for any community to possess. Being also the chief officials of the Colony it was natural that their position should affect political conditions. The incoming immigrants, whether from Great Britain, Ireland or the United States, resented the establishment of such a class, partly, perhaps, because the bulk of them were not considered eligible for admission to its ranks. Hence the old story of social conditions acting and reacting upon the body politic. And, even when their political power had departed in great measure and their somewhat aggressive British principles been fused into the treatment of a mass of new constitutional problems, in years following the union of Upper and Lower Canada, the Loyalists still re-

mained the dominant social factor of the Province. That their influence in this respect upon the moral tone of Canadian home life was good few will deny, and despite the apparent social development of later years along American lines the student will find much that was permanent in this influence and beneficial in its inherited application.

There were, however, other elements of importance in this process of evolution. The strongest in both the Maritime Provinces and Upper Canada was that of the Scotch settler. Grim in his determination to conquer the difficulties of the soil and oblivious even to the loneliness of the wilderness; earnest in his adherence to certain high and sometimes strained standards of moral duty, and strong in his sturdy religious convictions; he made a splendid pioneer. Like the Loyalists, though in a different application, these Scotch colonists in all the Provinces brought to the youthful country principles which constitute the best and surest foundation for the welfare of a nation. Both were firm in their adherence to the ideals of British home life and moral conduct, and both were vigorously opposed to the looser marriage laws and conditions of which there were even then indications in the United States. But here they separated. The members of the one body, though loyal to the Established Church and to religion as they understood it, were leaders of the lighter social life which was evolving in the scattered communities and which found expression

notably at York (Toronto) and Kingston; the members of the other, like their compatriots in the land of the heather, practised a more severe religion and lived a quieter life. The former was of one political faith, the latter was divided in that respect as they were afterwards in their allegiance to the different divisions of Presbyterianism.

Another most important element in the population of this period and of distinct influence upon social manners and customs was also primarily of a religious character—the Methodists. Their number was at first very limited, but, as immigration increased, they reproduced upon Canadian soil most of the conditions and habits prevailing amongst their associates in England or the United States. Travelling preachers infused enthusiasm into their little gatherings; camp-meetings, tea-meetings and "socials" served the purposes respectively of religious discussion and intercourse; while the dependence of a section upon the Church in the Republic and of another section upon their brethren in England produced a controversy which had most vital effects upon the national tendencies of the period and resulted ultimately in the triumph of the British element. This body also helped in the gradual fusing of the various portions of the population which was then commencing and has, in these later days, produced a condition where the possession of means and education and ability—of education and ability without an independent fortune—

will enable a man to have and hold any social position which he desires without reference to his family descent, religion or business. Here also the conservatism inherent in the British mind appeared, partly as a result of the adherence of nearly all classes to British connection and its influences, and partly because of the comparatively uniform distribution, or limitation, of wealth, and prevented the democratic social system which has since evolved from being one in which money takes the place of birth and millionaires adopt the position of aristocrats.

The essential factor of education and religion remain and must be considered more fully than has been possible in this summarised review. During the first forty years of the century there seemed to be an almost uniform effort in these British Provinces to promote higher education while neglecting that of an elementary nature. After the first years of pioneer work, when all classes shared in the questionable instruction of the little log schoolhouses, it became in Upper Canada and the Maritime Provinces the practice, amongst all who could afford it, to either send their boys to American or English schools, or else a little later on, to have them taught at home in the preliminary stages, and then sent to large Provincial schools of higher instruction such as Upper Canada College, Upper Canada Academy, King's College, Windsor, N.S., Pictou Academy, N.S., or the New Brunswick College. This was a social development, as well as an educational

one, and it had an additional influence in the fact that in the oldest and largest of these institutions the Church of England was dominant. A full understanding of the distinction made between higher education and elementary instruction during these years, and in these varied communities, is therefore as essential to a comprehension of the general social condition as is a knowledge of the prolonged and perfectly natural attempt to strongly and permanently establish the position of the Church of England.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

During the first years of the century in the English Provinces the majority of mothers taught their daughters and the fathers their sons what they had themselves learned amid far different scenes and conditions, and in long past years. Schools for the mass of the isolated people in Upper Canada there were practically none. In the village of Kingston the Rev. Dr. Stewart had for some time taught classics to a few fortunate pupils, as had the Rev. Mr. Addison at Newark. Almost environed by woods, a small school existed at Port Royal, taught by Deacon Trayes (a Baptist), and elsewhere at Fredericksburgh, Ernest-town, York, Ancaster and a few other settlements, similar schools had been established. Amidst these pioneer conditions the Rev. John Strachan also laid the foundation of personal fame and success by commencing, in 1804, a school at Cornwall through which in following years there passed the future political masters of Upper Canada—men such as Robinson, Macaulay, McLean, Boulton, Jones, Sherwood, Cartwright and Bethune. But the general situation was a serious one. Lieut.-Governor Simcoe, in April, 1795 wrote

to Bishop Mountain of Lower Canada—who then had jurisdiction over the Upper Province—expressing the belief which then prevailed so universally amongst the governing classes, and in those pioneer days perhaps properly, that religion and education should go together. He urged the establishment of churches and schools, and went on to speak of that fear of United States influence which prevailed then, and throughout the first quarter of the century, in every department of Canadian life and progress: "It is of serious consideration that on the approach of the settlements of the United States, particularly on the St. Lawrence frontier, these people, who by experience have found that schools and churches are essential to their rapid establishment (as a nation), may probably allure many of our most respectable settlers to emigrate to them, while in this respect we suffer a disgraceful deficiency." In this connection it was stated four years later, by a passing traveller,* that the policy of the Government was "to exclude schoolmasters from the States lest they should instil republicanism into the tender minds of the youths of the Province."

A few district schools were established by law in 1807 and, in 1816, £24,000 was voted by the Legislature for the establishment and maintenance of common schools. The difficulties, however, were naturally very great on account of the sparseness of

* *Tour through Canada*, by "A Citizen of the U. S.," 1799.

the population, though matters were aided somewhat by the independent building of log schoolhouses wherever enough settlers lived in one vicinity to warrant the employment of a teacher. The duties of this individual were onerous, his qualifications very inferior, his character often far from good, and his wages wretched. In 1841 after the passage of the Common School Act of that year, salaries averaged little more than a hundred dollars a term, although with this munificent remuneration went the privilege of "boarding around" without charge at the homes of his pupils—taking each house in turn. The life of the teacher, who was very often a retired soldier, was a miserable one and that of the unfortunate scholars seems to have been little less so. They had to sit for hours in a wretched shanty which was cold in winter, hot in summer, and dusty and dirty all the year round. The light was bad, the seats were without backs and too high for the little ones' feet to touch the floor. Floggings were frequent, weariness profound, noise and disorder incessant.

The success of the district schools established by the Government does not seem to have been very pronounced, and in 1819 the allowance to teachers was reduced to £50, in all cases where the number of pupils did not exceed ten! Four years later Lieut.-Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland obtained permission from the Imperial Government to establish a Board of Education for the Province and for the management of a proposed University. Its

Chairman was the Rev. Dr. Strachan, and the other members were the Hon. Joseph Wells, the Hon. G. H. Markland, the Rev. Robert Addison, the Hon. John Beverley Robinson and Mr. Thomas Ridout. An attempt was also made to provide general reading books for the schools, and in 1824 the annual sum of £150 was appropriated for the purchase of "books and tracts designed to afford moral and religious instruction." The Common School Act was arranged to apply to Indian schools in the Province and much-needed provision was made for the examination of teachers by County Boards of Education. Inefficient though this regulation was in practice it served as a beginning for better things. According to a statement made by Dr. Strachan * in 1827 there were then 340 common schools in the Province in which ten or twelve thousand children were taught reading and writing, the elements of arithmetic and "the first principles of religion." He went on to say that the people, scattered as they were over a vast wilderness, were now becoming interested in the importance of education to such an extent that schools supported by subscription were more numerous than those established by law. In the decade following 1830 a number of spasmodic efforts were made in the Legislature to establish an efficient educational system. Dr. Strachan and the Hon. William Morris laboured for the betterment of

* *An Appeal to the Friends of Religion and Literature.* London, 1827.

conditions in the higher branches of learning, while Dr. Charles Duncombe of Norfolk and Colonel Mahlon Burwell of the London District did good service for the cause of elementary education. Unfortunately the whole subject became involved in current questions of politics and several school bills passed by the Assembly were rejected by the Legislative Council. Dr. Duncombe moved a resolution in 1831 asking the Government to set apart a quantity of public lands for the support of common schools and declared therein that: "There is in this Province a very general want of education; that the insufficiency of the Common School Fund to support competent, respectable and well-educated teachers has degraded common school teaching from a regular business to a mere matter of convenience to transient persons, or common idlers, who often stay but for one season and leave the schools vacant until they accommodate some like person, whereby the minds of the youth of this Province are left without due cultivation, or what is worse, frequently with vulgar, low-bred, vicious and intemperate examples before them in the persons of their monitors."

There was too much truth in these general facts, though political feeling can be clearly seen in the resolution as a whole, and even in this portion of it. To organise a really efficient school system in the backwoods, and amongst pioneer settlements, was a task of extraordinary difficulty and required means far beyond the resources of the Provincial Govern-

ment. Help was rendered by England in many ways, and much more would have been given had not the opposition to a State Church developed naturally into antagonism towards State schools—with their inevitable religious teaching. Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, was largely instrumental in founding Upper Canada College in 1830, and through this Canadian Eton there has since passed a stream of boys who, as a rule, have been fairly well educated and have in an astonishingly large number of cases distinguished themselves in Canadian history. Victoria College was established in 1836 by the Wesleyan Methodists, and for years did a service to that section of the population similar to the work done by Upper Canada College for the official and Loyalist classes. In 1840 the Congregationalists established a Theological Institute at Toronto, while the United Presbyterians formed a Divinity Hall. In 1836 Dr. Duncombe—who within twelve months was destined to be a proscribed rebel and whose views were of an extreme Radical nature—had been sent by the Assembly to report upon American schools and colleges and appears to have done his work fully and well. But political feeling had grown very bitter and statements and proposals emanating from the Assembly, and as a result of American experiences, were naturally looked upon with suspicion by those in power. Nothing definite was therefore done, and in 1837 a sum was voted for the educational purposes of 400,000

people very little greater than had been given in 1816 for the needs of a hundred thousand souls.

In 1839 a Commission composed of the Rev. Dr. McCaul, long afterwards President of the University of Toronto, the Rev. H. J. Grasett, afterwards Dean of Toronto, and the Hon. S. B. Harrison, was appointed to inquire into the educational condition of the Province. Various recommendations were made and the examination of many prominent witnesses indicated a very unfortunate state of affairs. Besides the crucial point—the known inefficiency of the teachers—there seems to have been a general fear of alien influence in the schools. The Hon. William Morris told the Commission that hundreds of the youth of the country were being sent to American schools and were there imbibing republican ideas incompatible with national loyalty or with affection for British constitutional principles. The Hon. James Crooks spoke strongly about the employment of alien school teachers. Others expressed similar fears and opinions. Dr. Thomas Rolph * had already given the Government warning of this when writing, in 1836, regarding the condition of affairs he had witnessed four years before that date. He declared it a really melancholy matter to traverse the Province and to visit many of the common schools. "You find a herd of children, instructed by some anti-British adventurer instill-

* *Observations Made during a Visit to Upper Canada*, by Dr. Thomas Rolph, Dundas, U.C., 1836.

ing into the young and tender mind sentiments hostile to the parent state; false accounts of the late war in which Great Britain was engaged with the United States; geographies setting forth New York, Boston, Philadelphia, etc., as the largest and finest cities in the world; historical reading-books describing the American population as the most free and enlightened under heaven; insisting on the superiority of their laws and institutions to those of all the world; and American spelling-books, dictionaries and grammars, teaching an anti-British dialect and idiom." It was a number of years, however, before anything was done in this particular connection, while the General Report of the Commission was not acted upon until after the union with Lower Canada in 1841. Meantime the general lack of higher educational facilities, and the paucity of opportunity for any kind of efficient learning, had resulted in a mixture of classes and creeds and even nationalities in such schools as did exist, and this had a not unwholesome effect upon the process of social evolution which was going slowly on.

In the Maritime Provinces educational development was earlier and perhaps more successful than in Upper Canada. The growth of Halifax as a military, naval and social centre and of St. John as a Loyalist city had something to do with this fact, while immunity from the worst effects of the War of 1812 and freedom from the more severe forms of political strife had still more. For many

years after the foundation of Halifax, in 1749, the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel did much for the infant Province in sending out and paying school teachers and clergymen. In 1788 the Legislature established a Seminary at Windsor, N.S., which in 1790 became King's College, and in 1802 a University with a Royal Charter and a grant of three thousand pounds from the British Government. From that time until 1834 the University received £1,000 annually from the same source. Unfortunately, the by-laws of this institution were made to embody the ideas of the dominant and ruling powers of the day, both at home and in the Colony, by excluding Roman Catholics and Dissenters from participation in its privileges, and this led to a prolonged agitation which resulted in 1816 in the establishment of Pictou Academy, in 1829 of the Horton Academy at Wolfville and in 1838 of Acadia College at the same place. Meanwhile, in 1821, Lord Dalhousie, whose conciliatory disposition and generous views upon social, religious and educational matters had won him great popularity in Nova Scotia, endeavoured to ameliorate the sectarian controversies of the time by establishing Dalhousie College as a medium for general higher education. In some way, however, a mistake was made, or offence mistakenly felt, by the non-appointment of the Rev. E. A. Crawley whom the Baptists desired as their representative upon the teaching staff. The result of this was the formation of Acadia,

while the really wide measure of freedom in Dalhousie made the authorities of King's College averse to amalgamation. Hence the net result of this well-intended action was the existence of three institutions of higher learning instead of one.

An Act was passed in 1811 giving some general encouragement to popular education by granting £25 to any settlement, consisting of thirty families and raising not less than £50 by local assessment. And, in 1825, when it went out of operation there were 217 schools reported, with 5,514 pupils, at an average cost to the Province of £10,000 a year. In 1832 Nova Scotia was divided into school districts, each with its Board of Commissioners, and in 1842 the common and high schools of the Province were reported as having 854 teachers and 29,382 pupils. They were supported by £83,000 raised locally amongst some 250,000 of a population and £34,000 granted by the Provincial Government. Progress had therefore been fairly rapid, and there appears no doubt that the system, crude as it may have been in many ways, was better in application than was that of Upper Canada at the end of this period. Had it not been for the controversies respecting religious tests and denominational teaching which dissipated the energies and divided the resources of the people much greater success would have been achieved.

As with Nova Scotia, the educational institutions of New Brunswick began practically in the estab-

lishment of a College. No sooner had the Loyalist immigrants been settled upon their lands and the new Colony separated from the older Province (1784) than the Executive Council put aside 2,000 acres in the vicinity of the settlement at Fredericton, for the maintenance of a Provincial Academy which in 1800 became the New Brunswick College and in 1828 was incorporated by Royal Charter as King's College—long afterwards as the University of New Brunswick. As was the case everywhere in these early years it was distinctly a Church of England institution, and so remained until 1845. The first Educational Act of the Province was passed in 1802, and inaugurated the crude commencement of what afterwards became a splendid system. By that date most of the settlements had private schools of the same precarious and pioneer character as marked those of Upper Canada. These efforts of the settlers, detached as they necessarily were, received, however, great assistance from several societies connected with the Established Church. In this way the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel did a magnificent work, contributed liberally towards the maintenance of the schools, and sent out teachers of the highest training and education. Another external influence of great benefit was the New England Company—a Missionary Society of the days of Charles I.—which, after the Revolution, had transferred its labours to New Brunswick and soon established a number of schools for Indians.

But, during this period, the chief agency in the Province from outside was the National Society which had been founded in London, in 1811, for "the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church." It very soon became strong and influential from its adoption of what was called the Madras system—after its originator who had first introduced it when acting in India as Garrison Chaplain at Madras. In 1818 one of these schools was opened at St. John, and within six years there were thirty-seven similar schools in New Brunswick with 4,736 pupils. By 1825 most of the parish schools of the Province were conducted under this system, and had been given a small Legislative allowance and placed under the superintendence of the Governor and a Board of Trustees. Subsequent agitation against denominational education affected their position but not materially during the period under review. The first grammar school of the Province was founded at St. John in 1805, and by means of grants from the Government, and liberal aid from the people, soon became a most successsful institution. Through an Act passed in 1816 grammar or high schools were soon established in many of the counties, and most of them were placed under the charge of clergymen who combined teaching with their parochial duties. This condition of affairs continued until 1829, when the population had increased largely and the development of other religious denominations in public importance and influ-

ence caused the passage of a law forbidding the acceptance of such employment by a beneficed clergyman or active minister. These schools were not very successful, and as late as 1846 a Legislative Report declared them "inferior to many of the parish schools." Meanwhile the efforts to organise an efficient common school system had not proved popular, local taxation for such a purpose was repudiated by the people, and in 1845 the whole Provincial grant for such schools was £12,000—as compared, however, with £375 in 1815. The apathy seems to have been very great, and outside of the parish schools, where clergymen and old-fashioned teachers were often employed, the system of itinerant boarding, small salaries and cheap work was naturally inefficient. During this period General Sir Howard Douglas, Lieutenant-Governor from 1824 to 1829, did all that was possible to encourage public interest in educational matters.

In Prince Edward Island in these years, and despite an appeal from Governor Fanning in 1790 to the Assembly for "the training up of youth to reading and to the necessary knowledge of the principles of religion and virtue," nothing was done by the Legislature until 1825, when the first Education Act was passed. This measure undertook to pay one-sixth of the teachers' salaries and granted £50 to each county for the employment of a grammar school master. In 1833 there were 74 schools and 2,276 pupils in the little Province. During 1834 a Board

was established for the examination of grammar school teachers who, upon passing, became qualified for a modified Government grant varying from £5 to £20. In 1836 the Central Academy was formed at Charlottetown for purposes of higher education. Away up in the wilds of the North-West something was also being done at this time along these lines. Lord Selkirk, in striving for the maintenance of his storm-environed settlement on the Red River, did not forget this vital factor in its welfare, and in 1819 sent out a Protestant clergyman for purposes of education. A school was put up in the succeeding year upon a site now within the limits of the City of Winnipeg while not far away from this place, and amongst the Indians and Half-breeds, there rose a Roman Catholic school under the instruction of an earnest French-Canadian missionary—Father Provencher. The settlement was organised in 1835 as the District of Assiniboia, but no official provision was made for schools, and they continued to follow the extension of religion and to rise by virtue of private subscription, side by side with churches of different denominations. Two years before this date, however, a Church of England school had been founded, for the education mainly of the children of the Hudson's Bay officials, which nearly forty years afterwards, and through many vicissitudes, became St. John's College.

Meanwhile, the oldest established and in these years most thoroughly organised educational system

in British America—that of Lower Canada—had been passing through natural and varied changes. When the century opened it saw a matured system of Roman Catholic higher education through the medium of seminaries, colleges and convents; and these were added to in subsequent years by the establishment of the Colleges of Nicolet, St. Hyacinthe, St. Thérèse, St. Anne and L'Assomption. But education remained very backward amongst the masses. The Roman Catholic Bishop Hubért in 1789 declared that not three dozen persons in each parish (of the *habitant* class) could read or write. In 1801 Lieut.-Governor Sir Robert Shore Milnes promoted a law, which was passed, for the establishment of free schools. The Act remained without effect, however, until 1818, when the Royal Institution of Learning was incorporated for the encouragement of popular education. But its teachers were Protestants and the rural population would not send its children to the schools thus formed—the result being that after twenty years of more or less well intended work only 37 schools were under the jurisdiction of this institution. In 1820 Lord Dalhousie, who had come up from Nova Scotia as Governor-General, proved his liberality of view once more by suggesting and successfully promoting legislation which satisfied the Roman Catholic Bishops and established two distinct Boards for administering the Institution. Nine years later an Act passed the Legislature for the encouragement of

elementary education, and this was amended by several measures in subsequent years. Meantime, a large number of voluntary schools, both Protestant and Catholic, had been formed, and by 1831 * there were 1,216 schools in Lower Canada, 1,305 teachers and 45,203 pupils. During these years the Roman Catholic Church and clergy greatly aided their own institutions, but the education was naturally and mainly of a religious character. McGill University was not opened uptil 1843, and Protestant education, as such, had distinctly languished during this period, while in the years immediately preceding and following the Rebellion of 1837 the whole system was paralysed. It was not until after the union with Upper Canada in 1841 that matters began to brighten. The whole educational system in Lower Canada up to that date may be summarised in a word. There was much attention and money devoted to higher education of an ecclesiastical nature, much to elementary education of a religious character. But the *habitants* as a whole were not fully instructed in what is now understood by all to be educational essentials. Nor were Protestants very much better off—except where they had established semi-private schools of a character not unlike those of Upper Canada and with very similar faults.

* Montgomery Martin, *History of British Colonies*, p. 156, 1843, London.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF RELIGIOUS PROGRESS.

Turning from the earlier details of educational progress, or lack of progress, in British America, to the all-important question of religious development, it can be easily recognised by the student of history that no factor in the evolution of the Canadian people has been so vital as that of religion. It affected not only the homes and individual character of the settlers, but in Lower Canada it controlled the masses in times of war and modified public opinion in times of constitutional controversy and amid the storms of rebellion. In Upper Canada it affected, through the Clergy Reserves issue, the political struggles of many years, while by the immigration of men of diverse denominations it modified social and educational conditions as well. So to a lesser degree in the Maritime Provinces.

And, when the varied influences and movements thus affected by religious belief are thrown into the melting-pot of history few will be found of such serious import to Canada as that of Roman Catholicism. Apart from its record of Jesuit missions to the Hurons, the Iroquois and the Algonquins; its

profound influence upon the French Government and settlement of Lower Canada and in the thoughts and lives of the Acadians; its effect upon the American Revolution and loyal response to the American invasion of 1775; there stands out the fact that from the commencement of the nineteenth century it has been the chief moulding and ruling influence in the lives, the habits, the politics and even the allegiance of the French-Canadian population of Lower Canada. In 1800 the adherents of the Church of Rome in all the vast British territory in North America hardly numbered 250,000; in 1851 they had risen to a million souls of whom 167,000 were in Upper Canada, 96,000 in the Maritime Provinces, and the remainder in Lower Canada. At the beginning of the century the Church in the latter Province controlled land grants of nearly 8,000,000 acres, and in 1854, according to the Anglican Bishop of Toronto (Dr. Strachan), its endowments, tithes and other dues in that part of the country represented a capital value of $20,000,000. Meanwhile it had done its fullest religious duty by the people of the parishes of Lower Canada. Every little village had its church building, every *habitant* had religious facilities close at hand, every isolated settler was visited from time to time, in all weathers and at all seasons, by some devoted priest. Each succeeding Bishop of Quebec during this period promoted education by means of Church schools or ecclesiastical seminaries, while lofty and costly religious edifices rose in Montreal,

and Quebec, and Halifax, and Toronto to mark the growth of the doctrines of the Church.

In 1806 the most remarkable man in the history of the Canadian Church became Bishop of Quebec —Jean Octave Plessis. His first work was to obtain official British recognition and a position similar to that of the Church of England Bishop in the Province, together with a revival of the rights of the Church as held prior to the Conquest. As a result of his well-known loyalty to the Crown—proven by addresses and *mandements* from 1794 to 1812—and so far as such privileges were considered compatible with existing conditions, he was eminently successful, and in addition was granted by the British Government for himself and his successors a yearly salary of £1,000. His second, and perhaps greatest, work was to influence the minds of the people up to the very time of his death in 1825 along the lines of British loyalty and allegiance. In his *mandement* of September 16, 1807, issued at a time when war with the United States seemed inevitable, there occurred the following thoughtful words in this connection: "You have understood, my dear brothers, that your interests are not apart from those of Great Britain; you are convinced as we are that it is impossible to be a good Christian without being a loyal and faithful subject; you have believed that you would be unworthy the name of Catholics and Canadians if, forgetting the rules of your holy religion and the example of your ancestors, you

should show disloyalty or even indifference when it is a question of doing your duty." And in a *mandement* issued on October 29, 1813, the Bishop used the words which follow: "Thanks to Heaven for the victories gained in July over the French in Spain by Lord Wellington." During the years following 1812 the Church took little part in the stormy politics of the time, until events were seen to be again approaching a dangerous issue. Then, with the warm approval of Bishop Signay of Quebec, the Bishop of Montreal issued a *mandement*—October 24, 1837—inculcating obedience to authorities and firmly denouncing rebellion. This document had a wide influence, and, while not preventing all trouble, it greatly limited the field and scope of the ensuing period of violence and bloodshed. The organisation, to some extent, of the scattered branches of his Church in British America had meanwhile been another result of the influence and work of Bishop Plessis. In 1820 he had obtained the Pope's approval and the King's consent to the establishment of auxiliary Dioceses at Montreal and in Upper Canada and the North-West Territories. As a result of the preliminary arrangements which he was thus able to effect the Rev. Father Macdonell was made Vicar-General of Upper Canada, Dr. Lartigue became the Vicar-General of Montreal, and the devoted missionary, Father Provencher, was appointed to a similar position in St. Boniface, Manitoba. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, prior to this date, were made Vicariates Apostolic.

During this first part of the century the progress of the Church was indeed very great. It ran concurrently with the phenomenal natural increase in the French population, and the end of the period boasted a well organised ecclesiastical system including the greater part of the population of Lower Canada amongst its adherents, several Bishops in each of the other Provinces, over a dozen large religious educational institutions, fifty communities of women and nearly half a million members of temperance orders. In Upper Canada the history of the Church of Rome begins with the settlement of pioneer Frenchmen in the County of Essex in 1782 and includes the romantic struggles and loyal records of the Glengarry Colonists from the Scotch Highlands. The master mind of the Church in this period and Province was Bishop Macdonell, who from the fourth year of the century devoted himself to the building up of a loyal and powerful Catholic body in Upper Canada. He was a man who combined the martial instincts and statecraft of a past age with the plainer qualities of an earnest religious pioneer, and had he lived in a wider sphere would have no doubt made a greater name for himself. But that he could have done a greater service to his Church is questionable. For thirty years he travelled from mission to mission in the Province over roads which were often little better than "blazed" paths through the forest, or faint tracks over a wilderness; and endured all the hardships of cold and heat and

the rough life of a rough and ready time with the faith of an enthusiastic Churchman and the typical courage of a vigorous Scotch pioneer. His correspondence with the Home or Provincial authorities at different times and his conduct during the War of 1812 stamp his character as that of a loyal, wise and natural leader of men. Physically, his stature was immense and his courage undaunted; mentally he was cool, resolute and imperturbable. Writing to Sir Francis Bond Head, the Lieutenant-Governor, in 1836, and in reference to some political attacks made upon him in connection with his seat in the Legislative Council, the Bishop—who had been appointed to the newly-formed Diocese of Upper Canada in 1826—declared with pardonable pride that "the erection of five-and-thirty churches and chapels, although many of them are in an unfinished state, built by exertion and the zealous services of two-and-twenty clergymen, the major part of whom have been educated at my own expense, afford a substantial proof that I have not neglected my spiritual functions nor the care of the souls under my charge." "And," he added, "I have expended since I have been in the Province no less than thirteen thousand pounds of my own private means, besides what I received from other quarters, in building churches, chapels, presbyteries and schoolhouses, in rearing young men for the Church and in promoting general education."

Following the famous Glengarry settlement of

1804, and the practical birth of the Church in Upper Canada, there was comparatively little organised Roman Catholic immigration for a number of years and, in 1817, Bishop Macdonell stated in a letter to the Colonial Secretary that the population of the Province in this respect was only 17,000. In 1825, however, the Perth settlement of Irish Catholics was formed, in 1831 a similar colony was established in Peterborough County, and four years later there came a large Catholic migration from Germany into the present Counties of Bruce, Huron and Perth. But it was not until 1846 and onwards that the great stream of Irish emigration set in which so largely helped the membership and influence of the Church of Rome in the Upper Provinces. By 1836, however, there were 19 priests, one Bishop and 35 churches in the Province—the Bishop receiving £500 per annum from the British Government and the clergy a total sum of £1,000 a year. In 1842 the Catholic population of the Province was 65,000 out of a total of 487,000. Meantime, throughout the Maritime Provinces, the progress of this particular Church had not at first been very great. Its backbone was to be found amongst Scotch settlers who had come out prior to 1800 to Prince Edward Island; in a small Irish settlement at Halifax dating from away back in 1760; and amongst the Acadian and Indian population. Bishop Burke, who had been consecrated Vicar-General in Nova Scotia by the Bishop of Quebec in 1817, was the most zealous of

early Catholic missionaries in these Provinces, but his Diocese was not fully organised until some time after his death, when, in 1842, Dr. Fraser was appointed Bishop of Halifax, and Father Dollard, Bishop of Fredericton. By 1838 Nova Scotia had some 20,000 adherents of the Church; three years later Prince Edward Island is stated to have had a similar number; while in New Brunswick there seems to have been a still greater relative increase. Most of the Irish and many of the Scotch settlers who came to the Maritime Provinces between 1830 and 1840 were of this faith and helped to swell the story of its later successes. Far away in the valley of the Assiniboine French-Canadian missionaries led by Fathers Provencher and Desmoulins were meanwhile planting the cross amongst the Indians and Half-breed settlers scattered through the region to which Lord Selkirk had brought his sturdy Scotchmen. The two priests mentioned arrived in 1818 and were the first to come since forty years before when a wandering priest had accompanied De Verandrye's expedition and been killed by Indians at the Lake of the Woods. They were also the vanguard of a series of faithful missionaries who for half a century acted as the pioneers of their Church in all the wide region between the Assiniboine and the shores of the Pacific, and by 1841 could boast of a large, though scattered, following amongst the Indians and Half-breeds of the plains.

If the prominent position of the Church of Rome, through the number of its adherents and the importance of its pioneer work in the evolution of French-Canadian character, deserves first consideration in this place, that of the Church of England more than ranks with it in the weight of formative force which it brought to bear upon the religious and political development of the English Provinces bordering upon the great lakes or within sight and sound of the stormy Atlantic. To the people of Upper Canada, and in some measure to those of the Maritime Provinces, the missionaries of this Church,—supported by the Imperial Government or helped by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge—constituted the chief religious influence in their early years of settlement. And, when fully established among the people, it became one of the principal political and social factors of a later day. It cost in those times much more money than was available in pioneer settlements to maintain the clergy and erect churches. In the first years of the century a log hut constituted the sacred edifice, and a travelling missionary was the occasional preacher to a congregation which had probably come from great and varied distances to hear him. For the support of this work and in the accompanying improvement of conditions and increased permanence of ministration the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was, in particular, a source of wide benefit to the struggling people.

Its history is the history of the Church of England in Canada. Each Diocese, as it was carved out of territories just emerging into a condition of comparative comfort and civilisation, could look back into the years immediately preceding its birth and could see how the wilderness had been watered and cultivated in a religious sense by the ministrations of this great English organisation. In 1816 the infant Church was receiving over £12,000 from its funds. In 1821 it was in receipt of £21,000, and for long after 1841 it received from the same source an average of £23,000 a year. Little wonder that on September 9th, 1841, the Diocese of Toronto should pass an Address, expressive of its gratitude to the Society, in which occur the following words: "In 1801, nine clergymen, missionaries of your Society, were the only labourers in the immense vineyard comprised in the Province of Canada; in 1841, two Bishops and one hundred and fifty clergymen are found within the same limits exercising this oversight of the Church of God. . . . To you we have been indebted for our first foundation and support as a visible Church in this Colony, and ever since for an uninterrupted series of the most munificent benefactions."

From 1811 the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the Church Missionary Society had been also doing much for the cause of Church expansion, and these Societies were generously aided by grants from the British Govern-

ment—sometimes directly to themselves, sometimes to the Provincial Government. In the former connection, for twenty years ending in 1833, a Parliamentary grant of $16,000 was annually given the S.P.G., while after that date for some years salaries were paid directly to the clergy from the Government. In 1836 £30,000 was thus paid out to further religious progress in British America. Some portion of this sum went to the Church of Scotland and the Church of Rome, but the bulk of it was received by the Church of England. In Upper Canada £4,500 was granted to missionaries and £7,600 to the ministers of the Church. With other allowances the amount reached a total of £17,800. So in Lower Canada with a total of £6,690, and in Nova Scotia with a sum of £2,300 given to the Bishop and the Archdeacon of Halifax.

Meanwhile, these and other large sums of money, although put to excellent use, had proved quite insufficient to keep pace with the progress of the population and the growth of its needs. Other denominations therefore, in time, developed strength and outnumbered in many parts of the Provinces the principal religious element of their earlier life. But for a long period the Church of England had its own way so far as that phrase can be used where a prolonged struggle with the forces of nature was in continuous progress. It rested deep in the hearts of Loyalist settlers, and was to the large majority of them a part and parcel of the patriotism which had brought them to this new land. In 1784 the Rev.

John Stuart had visited the pioneer settlements from Montreal to Newark, preaching to Indians and Loyalists alike. Two years later he settled at Cataraqui (Kingston) and in 1787 Nova Scotia was established as a Diocese which embraced the whole of Canada, with Dr. Charles Inglis installed as the first Bishop of a Colonial See.

By the Imperial Act of 1791, which separated Upper and Lower Canada, one-seventh of all the waste lands—amounting ultimately to some 2,500,000 acres—was set apart for "the maintenance of a Protestant clergy," and became the innocent cause of a vast amount of future political agitation and religious fulmination. The settled policy of the British Government, and consequently of Colonial Governors, in these years and during the first quarter of the next century, was the establishment of a State Church in British America. Simcoe strongly urged it upon the Colonial Office and he was followed by many others. It was a most natural suggestion and policy at that time. The Church was established in England and influenced the State in more ways than one. Dissent was absolutely unrecognised so far as religious equality was concerned, and political equality in this respect was still in the clouds. The new country could not support its own clergymen and the Church of England was sending them out to the help of the colonists, while Parliament was voting large sums for the same purpose. Moreover, the bulk of its

English community for many years belonged to the Established Church of the Mother Country, while in Lower Canada the Roman Catholic Church was practically an established one. And, not till well on the "thirties" did the Church of Scotland, so far as it was domiciled here, seriously object to this policy. But when the population changed in character and became one of mixed and varied religious belief storm-clouds of disconent naturally accumulated.

Dr. Jacob Mountain was the first Anglican Bishop of Upper and Lower Canada (1793–1852), and during more than three decades laboured amidst an English population which slowly increased over vast areas of territory—a circuit of some 3,000 miles—from 15,000 people to a third of a million. When he commenced his ministrations there were six clergymen in Lower Canada and three in the Upper Province. At his death he left sixty-one clergymen, of whom forty-eight were missionaries of the S.P.G. During these years his future successor, the Rev. Dr. Charles James Stewart, had done a great work in the religious upbulidng of the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada; and in his eleven years of following Episcopal administration he did more than zealous service to the whole Church. A Bishop at that time was really a travelling missionary whose influence depended largely upon the greatness of his Christian personality and had little to do with the trappings of ceremonial or office. The pioneer days of the Church in Canada resembled in this respect the

beginnings of the Christian Church on the plains of Palestine. Hence it was that the beautifully pure and elevated character of Bishop Stewart had such an effect upon all who knew or heard him. The period had now arrived for the division of the great Diocese and, in 1839, after one visitation from the new Bishop—Dr. George J. Mountain, who travelled over 2,500 miles and confirmed 2,000 persons during three months of incessant labour—the Bishopric of Toronto was created and Dr. John Strachan appointed to preside over a Diocese including practically all Upper Canada. According to the Report presented by Dr. Mountain during the preceding year to Lord Durham the Province (out of a population of about 400,000) contained at this time 150,000 adherents of the Church of England, 73 clergy and 90 churches. But there was said to be much need for more clergymen. Whole counties were without a single minister of the Church and at least one hundred more were required, while in Lower Canada fifteen or twenty were needed. With the appointment of Bishop Strachan, and the previous establishment in 1837 of 44 Crown Rectories by Lieut.-Governor Sir John Colborne, came the accentuation of a growing conflict over the Clergy Reserves question. The new Bishop was the most remarkable man whom the Church in Canada has produced. He was emphatically its master-builder, and had he united suavity of manner with his natural force of char-

acter and vigour of intellect he might have wielded even greater influence. As it was, this man of small stature but immense and aggressive courage was from the beginning of the century, and through all this formative period of Canadian history, a vital power in the religious, educational and political development of the country.

Meantime the Church's progress in the Maritime Provinces and elsewhere had been slow but steady. Bishop succeeded Bishop—Dr. Charles Inglis, the first and perhaps the ablest, dying in 1816. In the year before that event there had been twenty-three clergymen and twenty-eight Anglican schoolmasters in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The first Church missionary to Prince Edward Island, which had been chiefly settled by Scotch Presbyterians, was sent in 1819. Under Bishop John Inglis (1825--1850) much advancement was made, and four years after his appointment there were 27 clergymen in Nova Scotia, 26 in New Brunswick and two each in the Islands of Cape Breton and Prince Edward. Provincial Church Societies were formed for promoting local self-help, and in 1836 there were 34 clergymen with 28,000 adherents of the Church in Nova Scotia—the latter less in number than the Presbyterians or Roman Catholics—and in New Brunswick some 26 clergymen and churches mainly supported by the S.P.C.K. In all parts of these Provinces the same issue had arisen which was troubling Upper Canada,

and the objection of other growing denominations to the social and state supremacy of one Church was strongly asserting itself. Elsewhere, in far-off and still unknown Manitoba, the Rev. John West had gone in 1820, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, and upon the site of the present St. John's Cathedral in Winnipeg had built a little wooden church and preached to a miscellaneous audience of trappers, Half-breeds and Indians. Others succeeded him, but not until 1840 was a first Indian Mission sent into the wild interior where in more than one case Roman Catholic missionaries had already sown the seed of their faith.

The influence of Presbyterianism in Canadian history was not as distinct in this earlier period as that of other religious denominations. From the establishment of a Presbytery in Truro, Nova Scotia, in 1776, this Church in British America had partaken largely in the divisions and differences of the Church in Scotland, and had added some of its own to the list. Burgher and Anti-Burgher Synods, the Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian Church of Canada, the United Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the United Secession Church of Scotland, the American Associate Reformed Church and the United Synod of Upper Canada, all had their place and did their work during the decades up to 1841. But, earnest as the missionaries and preachers of Calvinism were, and strong as was a position based

upon the sturdy settlements of Scotchmen which spread from Prince Edward Island to the banks of the St. Lawrence, it was naturally greatly affected by these manifold divisions and sometimes bitter differences. In each of the Provinces, therefore, the history of the Church is that of courageous clergymen struggling, as individuals, to preach and teach in many and scattered communities while, collectively, bending somewhat wasted energies to the task of defending a pet doctrine of Church government, or perhaps of finding some loophole for its assimilation with a slightly different principle held by another body or branch of a common Presbyterianism. In the Maritime Provinces the pioneer minister of this denomination was the Rev. Dr. James McGregor. From his arrival in 1786 until his death in 1830 he continuously traversed the entire region, preaching and praying for a people scattered over a vast wilderness; forming and cherishing his little congregations; and, from Cape Breton to the borders of the United States, building up the principles of Presbyterianism in a broad and general sense amongst the slowly growing population. Especially does the County of Pictou, in Nova Scotia, owe him enduring gratitude for his varied services to its early settlers. Dr. McGregor was followed by men like the Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch, and others, who often combined with their religious work the important element of secular education.

The first Presbyterian minister in Lower Canada was the Rev. George Henry, who took charge of a small congregation in Quebec in 1765. In 1791, the Rev. John Bethune was the only Presbyterian minister in Upper Canada, although a certain proportion of the Loyalists were of Scotch extraction and naturally belonged to this school of religious thought. At the beginning of the new century a notable addition came in the person of the Rev. D. W. Eastman, and, by 1817, there were in the two Canadas some 25 ministers and 47,000 adherents, while in the Maritime Provinces there were an equal number of clergymen and 42,000 members of the different Presbyterian bodies.* In Manitoba, nothing of practical import was done until the middle of the century, despite the fact of Lord Selkirk's settlement being mainly Scotch and its people extremely anxious for missionary services from one of their own faith. The great external factor in the progress of Canadian Presbyterianism in these years was the Glasgow Colonial Society. It had been founded in 1825 under the auspices of one of the earlier Governors-General of British America—the Earl of Dalhousie—for the purpose of promoting the "moral and religious interests of the Scotch settlers" in the new country. Intimately associated with the Established Church of Scotland, and guided for a number of years by the energetic Dr. Robert Burns who

* The Rev. Dr. William Gregg, in *Canada: An Encyclopædia*, Toronto, vol. 4, p. 32.

afterwards did such service for his Church in Canada itself, the Society sent out many missionaries to all parts of the country and maintained them in great part from its own funds, until in 1840 it was amalgamated with the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland. During the year 1830 a Memorial was presented to the Society which described the condition of religion in Upper Canada, and from its pages can be gleaned much concerning the denominational and other difficulties of that period. It protested vigorously against the grants of the Imperial Parliament being given almost exclusively to the Church of England in the Province; pointed out that only £750 a year was allowed from that source to the Church of Scotland; and declared that few of the scattered congregations of Upper Canada could afford to pay more than a very small sum towards the maintenance of the local services of their Church. Matters, however, slowly and steadily improved, after this date. The population increased and greater unity began to develop amongst the divisions of the Church itself—notably by the union, in 1840, of the United Synod of Upper Canada with that of the Church of Scotland in the same Province. At the close of 1844 the two Canadas had 125 Presbyterian ministers with over 150,000 adherents, while the Maritime Provinces boasted 60 ministers and 110,000 adherents of Presbyterian Churches.

The study of Canadian Methodism, as it appears in history, is most interesting, and in its progress

can be traced many of the influences which also controlled the constitutional and public development of the country. Its divisions were almost as numerous as those of Presbyterianism and some of them were intimately connected with international conditions. The British Wesleyan Methodists, the Methodist-Episcopal Church in alliance with that of the United States, the New Methodist-Episcopal Church, the Primitive Methodist Church, the Methodist New Connection Church and the Bible Christian Church, all had different views upon minor points of doctrine or Church government. In some cases they also held strongly diverse opinions upon questions affecting their relationship to the mother churches in England and the United States and towards the Church of England in Canada. Hence it was that they were not united in local politics, although individually, and in a religious sense, inclined towards extreme democracy and its British political correlative—radicalism. The life-blood of the Church was drawn from the two countries referred to, and in the first quarter of the century the views of its adherents upon Church government and public questions were strongly affected by the ministration of ministers from Great Britain and the United States respectively. The Wesleyan Methodists, under instruction from a succession of zealous English missionaries, were kept in close connection with the Church at home and were naturally British in view and sentiment, while in later years they came strongly

under the loyal and vigorous influence of Dr. Egerton Ryerson—the foremost figure in the history of Canadian Methodism as well as in the later development of the Upper Canadian educational system. The Methodist-Episcopal Church, on the other hand, originated from the United States in 1791 and was supplied from the American Church pulpits for many years. Although deserted by a number of its ministers during the War of 1812 it maintained in Upper and Lower Canada an official and vital connection with the Church Conferences of the United States until, in 1828, a declaration of ecclesiastical independence made it a Canadian Church upon Canadian soil.

During this entire period there was serious and continued rivalry between the two chief elements of Methodism, and many were the clashes between American and English ministers. This national rivalry seems to have been a more important factor in dispute than even the differences in Church government, although they, of course, had their effect. The Episcopal system of the American Church carried on its struggle for supremacy with the more democratic English plan of Church rule, while at the same time the republican tendencies of American preachers and the royalist opinions of Wesleyan missionaries were found in occasional sharp contrast amidst the general political differences of the people. It was natural that these difficulties should arise in the conditions which then prevailed, and also

that the consequent divisions should injure the influence of Methodism as a whole and affect its progress amongst the new population which poured into the country between 1820 and 1841. National sentiments must influence religious history just as ecclesiastical forces and leaders have always moulded and modified political institutions. Yet, despite these conflicts in the pulpit and in politics there was never any serious evidence of disloyalty amongst any large section of Canadian Methodism. The suspicion widely existed that such was the case owing to the origin, teachings and connection of some of its preachers, and it was this suspicion which did harm amongst a portion of the general population and against which no proof of zeal and self-denial and patient endurance of every kind of hardship could avail, until the official separation from American Methodism took place. It was indeed with perfect truth that the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, after making an investigation into current charges of disloyalty, could in a Report issued on March 20th, 1828, bear tribute to the pioneer religious labour of these United States missionaries and declare that "to the disinterested and indefatigable exertions of these pious men this Province owes much. At an early period of its history when it was thinly settled and its inhabitants were scattered through the wilderness and destitute of all other means of religious instruction, these ministers of the Gospel, animated by Christian zeal and be-

nevolence, at the sacrifice of health and interest and comfort, carried amongst the people the blessings of our holy religion."

Notable amongst Methodist pioneers in the Canadas—of different sections of the Church—were the Rev. William Case, the Rev. Henry Ryan, the Rev. John Reynolds, founder of the New Methodist Episcopal Church, the Rev. Dr. James Richardson, the Rev. Dr. Mathew Richey, the Rev. Dr. Anson Green. An influence in this connection, which must not be overlooked, was the foundation in 1829 of the *Christian Guardian*—a paper which has ever since been an important element in Methodist progress. The Upper Canada Academy was established as a Methodist College at Cobourg eight years later. In numbers during this period Methodism in its various branches made steady progress, and in 1839 had 61,000 adherents in the Upper Province—according to a return made in that year and printed by order of the Legislature.

In the Maritime Provinces Methodist history dates from the Yorkshire emigrants who came out to Nova Scotia in 1770–5. Its progress surrounds the name and life of the Rev. William Black—the central figure in the history of the denomination upon the British shores of the Atlantic. For half a century after the preaching of his first sermon in Halifax in 1782, he laboured without ceasing amongst the settlements and wildernesses of the Atlantic Provinces. He preached incessantly, organ-

ised congregations, brought out ministers from England and collected funds there and in the United States. As immigrants came into the country and the Church grew in numbers it was retained in close connection with the Churches in England, both in unity of government and by constant British contributions to its work. By 1834 there were 33 missionaries and 19,000 adherents of Methodism in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Other religious elements in the population of the British Provinces up to 1841 were not very important as regards numbers. Congregationalism found a pioneer place in Nova Scotia under the extraordinary ministrations of the Rev. Henry Alleine and was established in some measure in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada. Here and there in other parts of British America little gatherings of the same belief might be found. The Baptists were more successful and, as far back as 1760, the practice of immersion is recorded in Nova Scotia, and in 1800 the first Association of churches was formed. In 1794 work was begun in Upper Canada, and within forty years there were 19,000 adherents of the principle in that Province. In Nova Scotia the body became very influential under the preaching of men like the two Mannings, the two Hardings and the Rev. Dr. Charles Tupper. It was frequently, in the first forty years of the century, a force in local politics and a vital influence in educational matters—although only a few thousand in numbers.

Moravianism found a place in Upper Canada in 1792, and its settlement at Moraviantown, with the good work done by its sturdy missionaries amongst the Indians, marks the pages of early Canadian history. The first Lutheran Church in Nova Scotia dates from 1761, and in Upper Canada from 1779. The doctrines of this denomination spread widely amongst the German settlers of all the Provinces and by 1841 a number of its churches were in existence. They maintained a close alliance with the American Church. So did the Evangelical Association which established itself, in 1836, amongst the Germans of Waterloo County and in a few years had obtained a large number of adherents. The Mennonites and Tunkers also received, from the earliest days of immigration, a large measure of support amongst the German settlers in Upper Canada. The Unitarian movement commenced to influence Canadian religious sentiment in 1836, when an attempt was made to found a congregation in Montreal. The effort was not successful for some years, but ultimately many scattered churches of this faith were to be found in the different Provinces. The Quakers date in British America from the year 1800, when Lieut.-Governor Simcoe gave to some forty families from the States a large grant of land in the County of York. In time other settlements were formed in Upper Canada and a Yearly Meeting of these most industrious, frugal and honest people came to be held for purposes of regulation

and government, although, like many other minor sects, they retained a close union with the United States section of their Church. The negroes in Upper Canada had meanwhile organised amongst themselves a British Methodist-Episcopal Church as the outcome of an American missionary effort commenced in 1834. Their Canadian Annual Conference was established four years later. The Jews early occupied a prominent place in Montreal, and Hebrew names are to be found amongst the fighting militia during both the War of 1812 and the events of 1837. The first regularly ordained Jewish minister was the Rev. Raphael Cohen, who came from London in 1778. Synagogues were built from time to time, and gradually the influence and standing of this racial religion rose to a high level in the chief city of Lower Canada. Not till years after the end of the first part of the century, however, did a Hebrew Synagogue find its place in Upper Canada.

Such was the religious position of British America in these years. The dominant denomination everywhere, except in Lower Canada, was the Church of England, and its semi-establishment had made it a secular power in each Province as well as the central figure of political controversy. With it, at times, stood the Church of Scotland and a large part of the Wesleyan Methodists; against it and in favour of absolute religious equality was an important section of the Methodists, and, finally, the great mass

of that Church together with the Baptists and a large section of the Presbyterians. These somewhat changing religio-political combinations vitally affected public incidents, and without the key which this fact affords much of Canadian history is an enigma to the outside student. Upon the social system of the community these Church divisions also had a direct formative effect. The years up to 1841 constituted for them all a period in which, despite apparently struggling and opposing influences, they tended, though slowly and almost imperceptibly, in the direction of denominational union. As with constitutional questions, so in this respect, fusion was emerging by degrees from confusion, and unity out of apparent disintegration.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY TRANSPORTATION, TRADE AND GENERAL PROGRESS.

The greatest problem presenting itself to Canadian pioneers—after the initial difficulties of obtaining food and shelter—was that of transportation. Until the forests were pierced with roads and the rivers bridged, or made passable for boats of heavier tonnage than a bark canoe, travel was obviously very difficult, trade practically impossible and social intercourse rare. Hence Simcoe's establishment of high-roads and the early appearance of stage-coaches upon the few routes which could then be used for that purpose. Not until 1817 were Kingston and York connected in that way and in the following year by a steamboat on Lake Ontario. Not until 1826 was a stage established between York and Niagara, and only in the same year was a steamer first placed on the Lakes of St. Francis and St. Louis in the St. Lawrence River. Meantime the mail was carried to the various villages in the wilderness by Indians, by white pedestrians armed with an axe to facilitate progress, or by a postman upon horseback. In the first years of the century the mail only came every three or four months to places away from the

stage roads, and as late as 1807 mails were carried by pedestrians from Montreal to York, Niagara and Amherstburg. Not until 1842 was a daily stage line for this purpose, and for the convenience of passengers, actually established through Upper Canada. The progress, however, had been steady, if slow, and by 1840 there were 405 Post Offices and 5,736 miles of post-roads in the Province. The process and progress of road-making was very similar in all the Provinces, except that Lower Canada, being so much older and more settled, was somewhat better equipped in the beginning of this period. Bridle roads were first made so that settlers on horseback could meet for worship, visit their neighbours, and attend to events so all-important in pioneer communities as births, marriages and deaths. Over them, also, pack-horses carried grain and other movables. Then came winter, when snow and ice made these narrow, swampy roads comparatively easy and when mere tracks in the wilderness became smooth paths for the rapid-moving sleigh. Gradually, log roads were built over marshy ground and made wide enough for wheeled vehicles, as well as for horses and sleighs. To these "corduroy" roads succeeded the graded road, in places where fences and farms began to mark the clearings and the settlers could find time to do a little draining, bridging and grading. Finally, came the gravel roads which marked the highest tide of progress in this direction up to 1841.

The next point of vital importance was that of water communication. Though possessed of the greatest system of lakes and rivers in the world the scattered population, which seemed spread like pygmies over the soil of British America, had to encounter the accompanying difficulties of whirling rapids and vast waterfalls. They found that valuable as was the St. Lawrence, stretching with its lake extensions two thousand miles into the continent and with its branches of the Richelieu and Ottawa watering their two chief Provinces, much would have to be done to assist nature before these marvellous facilities for traffic and travel could be effectively used. The stages of progress in this direction included the bark canoe used by the Indian, the *voyageur,* the hunter and trapper, and the pioneer traveller. Then came the French-Canadian craft called the *bateau,* of some forty feet in length and capable of carrying considerable quantities of food or merchandise and of being towed by ropes and windlasses, or men and oxen, through shallow rapids or over necessary *portages.* It could also be fitted up, in some measure, for passengers and could be sailed or rowed as desired. The Durham boats were introduced after 1812 by Americans and came to be largely used on the great lakes. They were flat-bottomed barges with greater tonnage and capacity than the *bateaux.* Beginning with 1793 a few Canadian vessels had appeared on the lakes at intervals, but not until 1817 did the first steamer

make its initial trip from Prescott to York—although the Hon. John Molson had already, in 1809, launched the Accommodation as the pioneer steamboat on the lower St. Lawrence.

To make these improvements in transportation applicable, however, to trade and other Canadian conditions, it was absolutely necessary to construct canals connecting in a navigable sense the various great waterways possessed by the Provinces. Early efforts had been made to build locks and aid the navigation of the *bateaux* and Durham boats, and by 1823 some seven hundred of the former and fourteen hundred of the latter were carrying goods, or produce, down the St. Lawrence. Seven years before that date the Lachine Canal had been opened and the Rapids of the St. Louis, just above Montreal, overcome at a cost to the British Government of $50,000 and to Lower Canada of $438,000. By means of the Rideau Canal, which made the Ottawa River available for large boats, and thus connected Kingston with Montreal, a river resembling the Rhine in length and the Danube in magnitude became available for the peaceful steamers of inter-provincial trade and travel. Opened in 1832, the canal was originally intended for military purposes, and with this in view cost the Imperial Government $3,900,000. Other projects were discussed during this period, and the Welland Canal, the Richelieu Canals, the Cornwall Canal and the Beauharnois Canal formed the subject of frequent debate in the Legis-

latures of Upper and Lower Canada. Money was voted by the Assemblies and sometimes vetoed by the Council, or the Crown, while enterprises were commenced and then temporarily abandoned. The trail of the political serpent was over everything and material interests, as well as education and other vital matters, were neglected in order to fight over sectional and sectarian and racial issues. One man in Upper Canada, however, did what was possible to retrieve the situation, and mistaken though its management was and costly as its construction became, the Welland Canal which connects Lakes Erie and Ontario in place of the furious rapids and falls of the Niagara, owes its existence to the enthusiasm and initiatory labours of the Hon. William Hamilton Merritt. He was a man of great earnestness, though not a good public speaker, and has been described as having a heart and feelings which were ardently British and a manner and style of thought eminently American. He forced his project through, so far as connecting Lake Ontario with the Welland River for small vessels was concerned, by 1829. But, though he had accomplished a work beside which the famous Bridgewater Canal in England or the efforts of De Witt Clinton in New York State resembled a rill of water in comparison with a rushing river, much remained before large steamers could pass from lake to lake—although by the year 1836 more than $2,000,000 had been spent upon the work in improvements and additions. For many years

this heavy expenditure continued—even after the Government had assumed control in 1842. Including most of the sum mentioned over eight millions had been spent upon general canal improvements by 1833.

With the growth of transportation facilities there came some development in trade. But it was a trade largely between adjoining communities and consisted mainly in the barter of agricultural produce for supplies of merchandise and occasional luxuries imported from Great Britain. Traffic between the Provinces was very slight. The Hon. James Stuart—afterwards Chief Justice of Lower Canada and a baronet—stated in 1824, in connection with a projected union of the Provinces, that "there is absolutely no intercourse whatever between the Canadas and New Brunswick. An immense wilderness separates the inhabited parts of both and they have no interchangeable commodities admitting of trade by sea. Nova Scotia is remote, is only accessible from the Canadas by land through New Brunswick, and keeps up a small trade with Lower Canada by means of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in productions from the West Indies. Between Lower Canada and Prince Edward Island there is hardly any communication whatever." Little trade was done with the United States during the first forty years of the century, as all the Provinces were under the preferential British trading regulations and their doors were, as far as possible, barred and

bolted against foreign commerce. In 1827 the imports of the British Provinces from the Republic did not amount to three million dollars, while their exports to that country were only one-seventh of that amount.

But this policy had a very natural effect upon the creation and development of Canadian shipping. As the consumption of imported products grew in volume and the external trade of the Provinces was at the same time confined to vessels flying the British flag, it was to be expected that the vast forest areas of the country would be utilised for building ships as well as for supplying Great Britain with timber. From a very early period indeed, the City of Quebec had been the scene of shipbuilding, and the first year of the century saw 21 ships of 3,700 tons built at Quebec and leaving that port. During the next twenty-three years the average of Canadian-built ships was somewhat greater, and in 1824--26 there seems to have been a marked impetus given to the industry, judging by the fact that the number rose from 38 to 84 and the tonnage from 10,498 to 19,172. Then the average number fell once more until, in 1840, the tonnage became 26,500 and the number of ships 64. Meanwhile, in the Maritime Provinces there had been a gradual growth of shipping interests from the time in 1761 when the Pompey, a shallop of 25 tons, had been built in Yarmouth County, Nova Scotia. In 1798, Pictou began a long career in this respect by launching a

vessel of 600 tons, and from the excellent quality of local woods and the development of trade with the West Indies, a large business was created, until, in 1825, general financial depression caused a serious collapse. Up till 1841 these Maritime Province vessels were largely built for sale in Great Britain and were of a somewhat inferior quality. But after that date there ensued a period of great prosperity—the palmy days of the industry. Shipbuilding also became a considerable interest in New Brunswick, where the conditions were similar to those of the sister Province and where, in 1841, new ships were built with a tonnage of 33,991 and numbering eighty-five.

Meanwhile, the first steamer to cross the Atlantic, the Royal William, had been built at Quebec. In August, 1833, after trading for a couple of years between Quebec and Halifax, it had crossed the ocean from Pictou to London in twenty-five days. A tablet in the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa now commemorates this pioneer forerunner of a mighty host of steamships—the beginning of the greatest revolution in the world's carrying trade. Other vessels soon followed, and in 1839 a Nova Scotian went to Liverpool and founded the famous Cunard Line of steamers which commenced in the following year to call at Halifax. But New York soon captured the Line and has ever since retained it. By this time there were a number of steamers on Lake Ontario, though the canals were still too small

to permit of much steam traffic with Lower Canada. In 1835 the Beaver was launched on the Thames by King William IV. and sent out to the Pacific Coast of British Columbia for the use of the Hudson's Bay Company. A year later it was carrying furs from Alaska and continued in active work for over fifty years—the pioneer steamer of the Northern Pacific and precursor of many greater ships. The first steamer built in New Brunswick was launched in 1816, and in another quarter of a century several were running between St. John and Boston and other ports. In 1836 the total shipping of Nova Scotia, inwards and outwards, was 700,000 tons; of New Brunswick 684,000 tons; of Prince Edward Island 41,000 tons; of Lower Canada 690,000 tons.

In addition to this large external shipping interest, and the ships built locally at the chief ports, there was an industry most important to any community which borders on the oceans, or which has within its bounds such inland seas as British America boasts—that of fishing. Through the bays and fiords of the Maritime Provinces skilful workmen, here and there, built such crafts as might suit the somewhat stormy waters of the Gulf or the Bay of Fundy, and supplied them to the sturdy fishermen who swarmed out in pursuit of their avocation much as their Norse ancestors had done from the coasts of Europe upon wider and wilder missions. The result was the establishment of an industry which has produced and maintained a large seafaring class

upon the coasts of British America—not dissimilar to that of Newfoundland—and which in a later period was to be duplicated upon the shores of the Pacific.

During these years the timber trade was a veritable handmaid of colonisation, the source of wealth to shipping interests, and of occupation to an immense number of saw-mills and many thousands of men. Colonial ships and timber had a heavy fiscal preference in the British market over their chief rival—the timber of the Baltic—and became at times the subjects of plunging speculation and of serious loss as well as of large profit. But upon the whole the trade did great service to the infant Colonies and the seas were white for many years with the sails of vessels from Quebec, Halifax and St. John carrying square timber, boards, deals, staves, shingles, oars and various other branches of the industry to the crowded wharves of the Mother Country. The resources of British America in this respect were then almost incalculable. From the Atlantic coasts there stretched inland, and north of the great lakes, two thousand miles of forest, lake and wilderness. Out of this during the present century at least 50,000,000 acres of forest area have been cleared for puproses of agriculture or else denuded of trees by the ravages of fire. It was natural, therefore, that these immense forests of pine, oak and tamarack should in time attract attention, investment and labour. To the earlier established French-Canadian

they do not seem to have afforded much interest in a business way, but, commencing with the influx of English-speaking Colonists in 1783, they soon began to appear more than a haunt for wild animals, a home for the fur trade or an obstacle to settlement. Philemon Wright, early in the new century, obtained a large tract of timber on the Ottawa River, north of the Chaudière Falls, and in 1806 sent down that historic stream its first raft of logs. Though the importance of the trade was not officially recognised until 1823, when Lord Dalhousie's Administration imposed an export tax upon timber, it was not long before the forests of this great region were ringing with the axe of the woodman, while many saw-mills were in operation along the Ottawa or the St. Lawrence, and the lumberman had become an important, though somewhat roving and erratic, factor in Canadian development.

The external trade of British America was, during the first part of the century, chiefly with the Mother Country, and seems to have been a fairly profitable one. In 1808 the Canadas imported from Great Britain, *via* Quebec, five million dollars' worth of manufactured goods at the rate of sixteen dollars per head of the population, and from the West Indies, in British ships, some $650,000 worth of products. The imports from the United States were composed of merchandise, tea, provisions, tobacco, oats, pine masts, and pot and pearl ashes, to the value of about a million and a half dollars.

There were six million dollars' worth of exports to Great Britain, composed mainly of furs, wheat and flour, timber, staves, masts, new ships, fish and pot and pearl ashes. The last item was an important industry during many years of this period.* As the years passed on these figures grew somewhat in volume but not to an extent proportionate to the increase of the population. The following table of imports and exports in 1827 and in 1836 illustrates the general progress and position of the trade with Great Britain, and is collated from Montgomery Martin's semi-official work upon the British Colonies (London, 1843):

Province.	Imports to.		Exports from.	
	1827.	1836.	1827.	1836.
The Canadas	$4,752,450	$13,697,535	$2,343,830	$3,167,875
New Brunswick	1,184,700	4,215,840	1,131,860	1,247,210
Nova Scotia Cape Breton Island Prince Edward Island	1,577,685	2,217,135	215,825	289,850
Hudson's Bay Settlement	136,690	206,905	255,855	131,565
	$7,651,525	$20,337,415	$3,947,370	$4,836,500

The growth of the imports from the Mother Country, as compared with the almost stationary and very small proportions of the export trade, is interesting; and, while serving to prove the value of Colonies to a metropolitan people, indicates also the absence of industries and money amongst the settlers in the new land. Had the latter possessed means the im-

* *Eighty Years' Progress of British North America*, Toronto, 1864, p. 292.

ports would have been infinitely greater. Meanwhile, the United States was but slowly improving its position in British American trade—although, despite differential tariffs and stringent navigation laws, its imports from the Provinces in 1827 were $445,000 in value, while its exports to them amounted to $2,700,000. The figures did not vary much in the next decade, and even as they were, some part of the exports seem to have been American timber products intended for the British market. The general imports and exports of British America during this period were not very varied. Some details of the former constitute interesting reading for the Prohibition advocates of this end of the century. At the Port of Quebec, in 1824, for instance, vessels from Great Britain brought over a hundred thousand gallons of different kinds of wine, seventy thousand gallons of rum and eighty thousand gallons of brandy. From Teneriffe came twenty-three thousand gallons of wine and from the West Indies and other Colonies a million gallons of rum. Over five million pounds of muscovado sugar were also imported and hardly one million of refined sugar. From the United States came some rice and tobacco. Curiously enough the records show the import of only 48 gallons of whisky from Great Britain in that year. Amongst the exports timber from Lower Canada and New Brunswick constituted the most considerable item, while ships made an excellent showing. Between 1814 and 1837, inclusive, 6,618

vessels, with a tonnage of 838,940, were built in British American ports—more than four times the number built in all the other British Colonies put together. The export of wheat and flour was very small, amounting to twenty-five quarters in 1815 and to only a hundred thousand quarters in 1833. At times wheat was actually imported from the Mother Country. Fish, though not in very large quantities, were shipped from the Maritime Provinces. The indications are, however, that the large catches along the coasts were chiefly consumed in the homes of the settlers. There were some evidences of growth in the interchange of trade during this period between the different Provinces, but it was slight—the principal intercolonial trade being with the West Indies. This did not vary greatly, and amounted in 1836 to a total import and export of three million and a half dollars.

In manufacturing and industrial progress the record of the Provinces between 1800 and 1840 was interesting in its nature but slight in comparative result. From the illimitable iron resources of the country early efforts had been made to extract supplies of that central factor in all industrial progress. Actuated chiefly by military reasons the French Government, as far back as 1737, started the St. Maurice Forges, and here during the succeeding century, and partly under British Executive control, the industry was carried on with varying degrees of success in a region of which the City of

Three Rivers afterwards became the centre and from which a recent authority states * that bog iron ore can still be produced of a nature rivalling the best ever produced in Sweden. Other iron works were started from time to time at Marmora, in Upper Canada, and in the Maritime Provinces, but lack of capital and shipping facilities, coupled with an external competition which was unchecked in those days by tariff arrangements, soon forced them to succumb. In no case, however, was there any lack of the raw material, and during all these tentative efforts at development there lay in the Maritime Provinces splendid deposits, not only of iron ore but of mineral fuel and flux, while in the Canadas there was an inexhaustible growth of wood suited for purposes of charcoal fuel, as well as abundance of the necessary fluxes. The textile trades received an early and successful start in the Provinces owing to the encouragement given by French Governors and officials to domestic manufactures of all kinds of clothing. As far back as 1671 the Intendant Talon informed the Government at Paris that he could, if necessary, clothe himself from head to foot with Canadian-made garments. The flax and wool spinning wheels and the clumsy loom soon became essential adjuncts to the house of the *habitant,* and the women of Lower Canada were able to make

* Mr. George E. Drummond, President of the General Mining Association of Quebec Province, in *Canada : An Encyclopædia*, vol. 5, p. 508.

everything from clothes and towels to carpets and bedding. To the incoming Loyalists and colonists of a later period homespun clothing was equally essential, and in the early years of the century, in every lonely settlement or isolated home in the wilderness of British America, women might be seen weaving the woollen garments which their families were so glad to have.

As years passed on, however, and the settlements grew in numbers and importance, a woollen industry was established in the more modern sense of that word. The saw-mills required at first for cutting up the timber needed for pioneer houses and furniture, and afterwards for the export trade, and the grist mills scattered here and there throughout the Canadas for dealing with the farmers' grain, were added to by carding and fulling mills of American design and manufacture. Upper Canada, in 1827, had 91 of the former and 79 of the latter and Lower Canada in 1842 had 186 carding mills and 144 fulling mills. In the Maritime Provinces the hand-loom and spinning-wheel remained the favourite for some time after these dates, as they also did amongst the *habitants* of Lower Canada. The manufacture of woollen goods on power-looms was commenced, in 1837, at Chambly in the latter Province and at about the same time at Georgetown, Upper Canada. The principal progress in this direction was made some twenty years later, partly as a result of the influx of Scotch immigrants of the weaving class, and

partly because of increased resources in capital. A curious but unsuccessful experiment was made in 1822 on the banks of the Assiniboine to utilise the vast number of wasted buffalo skins lying upon the prairies, by turning the wool into cloth. After the expenditure of some twelve thousand dollars, during three years, the venture was given up. Linen and hemp manufacturing was coterminous in the Provinces with the pioneer domestic woollen industry. Linen cloth-making is recorded by the Jesuits in 1688, and in 1734 some ninety thousand pounds of flax were grown for the making of cordage. The latter, however, was never a successful industry despite bounties and prizes given during both the French and earlier British periods of rule. The linen and cotton industries, as well as that of silk manufacture, were developments of the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first paper mill in Lower Canada was started in 1803, and some sixteen years later another was established in Nova Scotia, and in 1820 one was founded at Ancaster in Upper Canada. During the next fifty years, however, the growth of this industry was very slow and gave little indication of its present proportions. Boot and shoe making originated in Lower Canada in 1828, but during this period the progress was slight—the factories being small, the machinery poor and the output insignificant. But the beginnings had been made in nearly all these industries, and much has been due, then and since,

to the clever workmanship, the natural patience and innate deftness of the French-Canadian. To him the textile interests and leather trades of British America are more greatly indebted than is generally understood.

By the middle of the century the manufactures of the Provinces were therefore just emerging from the cradle of tentative endeavour. Political troubles had somewhat hampered their growth by checking the influx of capital and the creation of confidence in new enterprises. Yet there were some industries of importance in the country, aside from the ship-building interests and the 3,500 saw-mills and grist mills which existed in British America in 1833 and which have been already referred to in a general way. Distilleries, tanneries, foundries, soap and candle works, slate works, starch factories, cooperages, brick-yards, nail factories, spade and shovel works, breweries, match factories, cigar and vinegar factories and machine-making establishments, to say nothing of the varied branches of the timber industry, existed in the various Provinces. But these were chiefly small concerns of a local character, dependent upon their immediate vicinity for supplies of raw material and unable to attain more than a local distribution and sale owing to poor roads and the general cost of transportation.

The occupation of the masses was still agriculture. The knowledge of its principles was improving, while the practice of the majority of those in the

slowly settling counties was, in 1841, vastly superior to that of the pioneers who had in so many cases left the bench or bar, the desk or the drawing-room, to handle a primitive plough in the wilderness. Young men were not yet ashamed of the soil which their fathers had tilled, nor were they yet filled with an insensate ambition to crowd into towns and cities. Political agitation might check industrial and financial development, hamper immigration and chill enterprise, but it could not make the farmer forego his sowing and reaping and raising of stock, or prevent the settler from spreading around him a wider area of fertility. The result was that in Upper Canada, during the fourteen years following 1826, the occupied acres had increased by 3,500,000; the cultivated acres from 599,000 to 1,811,000; the number of horses from 23,000 to 75,000; and the oxen, cows and cattle generally from 113,000 in number to 264,000. In the year 1833 there were, in all the British North American Provinces, a million and a half of people possessed of two hundred thousand horses, nearly a million horned cattle, seven hundred thousand hogs and a million and a quarter sheep. In the Maritime Provinces also the record of progress was good in this respect; while in Lower Canada, owing to a disinclination to adopt new methods and partly, perhaps, from the hampering influence of the Seigneurial system in certain directions, agricultural matters may be described as practically in a stationary condition.

Meantime, the evolution of the Canadian banking system had commenced in 1817 by the foundation of the Bank of Montreal—afterwards the largest banking institution in either Canada or the United States. The Quebec Bank was founded in the succeeding year. Like everything else in Canada the attempted legislation before that date, and the continuous efforts afterwards to improve, extend or limit the financial system of the country, show a distinct conflict between British and American influences. At first the latter won, and the framework of most of the earlier legislation was characterised by American ideas and methods. Montreal in the second decade of the century was the centre of the importing trade for the interior regions of Upper Canada, and it was natural that the first bank should be started there. Small shopkeepers had gradually established themselves in the larger settlements of the country, and, as the forest gave way to the farm and the village, they organised a kind of business in which credit was a leading feature—the pioneer giving payment in produce for the simple articles of comfort or clothing which could be obtained from the shop and the merchant shipping the produce to Montreal in payment of his account with the importer. In 1823 the Bank of Upper Canada was established at York and soon had a number of branches. The Bank of New Brunswick was started in 1820 and the Commercial Bank of the Midland District at Kingston, U.C., and the Bank of Nova

Scotia at Halifax, in 1832. Then followed the Bank of British America (London, England) and the Gore Bank (Hamilton, U.C.) in 1836. Five years from the latter date there were eleven banks in the two Canadas, with numerous and scattered branches and having a total capital of nearly eleven million dollars, deposits of four millions and discounts of sixteen millions. During this period, and indeed for many years afterwards, the vagaries of these financial institutions were multiform and at times alarming even to the distant Imperial Government. Politics founded more than one of them and in time wrecked several in the years succeeding 1841. Legislation of the wildest kind and schemes of most inevitably disastrous character abounded, and when reaching the final stage of the Governor's approval were usually sent home for final action and there either seriously amended or else vetoed altogether. Finally, in 1840, Lord John Russell, after careful consideration and the receipt of all possible authoritative advice, drew up a series of regulations for the guidance of Provincial administrators which were afterwards largely incorporated in the general Canadian system. The history of these monetary institutions affords indeed a most striking illustration of a beneficial influence in Colonial matters exercised by the oft-despised intervention of Downing Street. It was all very natural. Neither pioneers, farmers, French Seigneurs, Lower Canadian *habitants,* nor political agitators, could be ex-

pected to understand the intricacies of finance and banking, and that they failed to exhibit such knowledge or experience is not greatly to their discredit.

At the end, therefore, of this formative period British America in a material sense stood fairly well prepared for the developments, discoveries, and united endeavours of the crowded times which followed. The foundations of agricultural success had been well and truly laid, the commencement of industrial success was clearly indicated, the basis of a great banking system was evolving through much trial and tribulation, while the opening up of roads and waterways was slowly preparing the country for a time when transportation and trade would be great interchangeable terms in the history of Canadian progress.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

When the first Loyalist settlers arrived in Upper Canada and the Maritime Provinces, or settled in the City of Quebec and the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada, they brought with them certain cherished principles of political government which the iron hand of oppression and strong rebellion had driven deep into their souls. Battling for allegiance to their King had stamped the loyalty of an older time into their convictions. Robbery of their homes and properties, even after the pledge given by American authorities that such rights in the different States should be respected, had compelled in them a not unnatural belief that democracy meant dishonesty. The weakness of Royal Governors, when unsupported by the vigorous action and confidence of Ministers at home and in face of a revolution created by a minority of the population, had convinced them beyond doubt that, in these new Colonies they were about to form, the Governor should have power and should exercise it. The knowledge that democratic views of government in the Thirteen Colonies had developed, owing to distance from the seat of au-

thority, and peculiar local conditions of thought and characteristic, into either passive acquiescence in separation from Great Britain or into active advocacy of revolt, had inclined them to look upon future suggestions of reform and change in the new British America as the natural precursors, if not signs and tokens, of disloyalty. The feeling that these same democratic principles constituted an aggressive force aiming at the eventual assimilation of the British Colonies into the American Union was the outcome of such convictions and was vividly strengthened by events like the War of 1812 and the agitations of the Thirties.

The passing years have proved that these views were not correct in some respects. They have shown that peculiar circumstances, impossible even of conjecture to men of that day, could transmute democracy into the truest form of loyalty and make distance in space an element favourable to closeness of affection and allegiance. At the same time many occurrences in the years following compelled a prolonged struggle in all these Colonies against principles of government and political ideas and ideals from the other side of the line which would have prevented this result and did clearly prove the correctness of the Loyalist view—shared in by Simcoe and Brock and Dorchester and all the early Governors of the Province—that contiguity to American institutions made it necessary to resist at all costs the advance of what was looked upon as a dangerous democracy.

Hence the evolution of the Tory party in the English-speaking Provinces upon the platform so clearly and concisely given them by the first Governor of Upper Canada: "To render the Provinces as nearly as may be a perfect image and transcript of the British Government and constitution." * That they did not always and absolutely live up to this principle as a single great aim is true, and that in time accretions of corruption and elements of oligarchy became a part of their political system is also a fact. But upon the whole they laid broad and deep in three Provinces of the present Dominion the foundation principles of loyalty to the Crown and belief in the practices and forms of the British constitution. Reform in details could come in time, as it did in the Mother-land herself, and opposition to these reforms amid old-time conditions does not detract seriously from the great primal service which these early leaders did to British America in preserving it, vigorously and pertinaciously, from what in their days and to their minds constituted so serious a danger—the spread of American democracy amongst new settlers who either came from the States without any particular Loyalist convictions, or else from the Old Country with principles which in many cases inclined them towards American radical ideas. The fact that these immigrants knew nothing practically of the causes which made the Tories so sincere-

* Lieut.-Governor Simcoe, in a despatch to the Colonial Secretary, from Kingston, U.C., December 21st, 1794.

ly strong in their antagonism to political innovation naturally helped the growth of opposition to the governing element and the consequent formation of a Reform or Liberal party. And any one who looks back at this early period—free from the trammels of inherited or acquired partisanship which have characterised so many Canadian writers and historians—cannot but be impressed with much that was admirable in the conservatism of the dominant party and with much also that was creative and formative in their policy.

At the same time it appears evident that the evolution of the opposite party was natural and inevitable. It is, therefore, as absurd to pour out vials of wrath from modern inkstands upon the Tories of the early years of the century for not seeing proposed political changes in the light of the year 1900 as it would be to declare that every man who sought to support reform, amongst the crude ideas or stubborn convictions of a pioneer population, was a rebel.

As to the external influence which had so much force in the Province of Upper Canada, from the days of Simcoe to Bond Head, it must be remembered that the Governors primarily represented the Crown and owed their first duty to the source of their authority—the Imperial Government. There was no responsible Ministry to stand between them and the people as they stood between the Colony and the Crown, and, until within a short time of the year

1837, there was no definite demand for a body which should in this respect resemble the Home Government. When the demand did come, and after all the expressed approval of Lord Durham and the supposed sympathy of Lord Sydenham himself, the latter received in 1839 from Lord John Russell a despatch which embodied the British view of the matter and one which had been held through all the troubles of the preceding forty years. The words used were as follows: "The power for which a Minister is responsible in England is not his own power, but that of the Crown, of which he is, for the time, the organ. It is obvious that the Executive Councillor of a Colony is in a situation totally different. The Governor under whom he serves receives his orders from the Crown of England. But can the Colonial Council be the advisers of the Crown of England? Evidently not; for the Crown has other advisers for the same functions, and with superior authority. It may happen, therefore, that the Governor receives, at one and the same time, instructions from the Queen and advice from his Executive Council totally at variance with each other. If he is to obey his instructions from England, the parallel of constitutional responsibility entirely fails; if, on the other hand, he is to follow the advice of his Council, he is no longer a subordinate officer, but an independent sovereign."

From the standpoint of those days this position seems very natural. From the view of the present

time it appears incompatible with the liberty of a Colonial subject and the freedom of a distant dependency. But the opinions and actions of sixty or a hundred years ago have to be judged by the light of a current environment and not by the comprehension of a more experienced age. In another respect the Governors of those days in Upper Canada, as well as elsewhere, endeavoured to carry out a policy which even now has many admirers, and which under their existing systems of Colonial administration was the only logical principle. It was that of non-party government. To select loyal, intelligent, educated and pecuniarily independent men to advise them regarding the interests of the various Provincial communities, and to help in their government, was undoubtedly the general object and instructed policy of the Crown's representatives. That they were unsuccessful seems now to have been the inevitable result, though it was by no means apparent then. Had they succeeded, the appointed Executive Councils would have been, at least theoretically, most desirable and beneficial, and the miserable period of passionate party strife which followed and so seriously affected the material progress of the people might have been averted. One of the most prominent publicists of Canadian history—the Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson—has recorded his belief that personal hostilities and partisan struggle proved during this period * to be "the most fatal

* "Address to the People of Upper Canada," July, 1867.

obstacles to our happiness and progress as a people," and had involved an immense loss of time and waste of public money, while constituting a most fruitful source of partiality and corruption in legislation and government and a prolific cause of degeneracy in public men. But parties had to be evolved under the conditions of the time, and in all the Provinces their foundation was freely laid and built upon during these years.

If, however, this period saw the formation of parties in Upper Canada and the Maritime Provinces which were to rapidly approximate in some respects to those of the Mother Country, they witnessed the growth in Lower Canada of perhaps the most extraordinary political organisation known to any community in our world-wide British life. When the century opened there was in that Province, as in the neighbouring ones, little sign of the stir and stress of coming years. It seemed as if Wolfe's declaration from the Isle of Orleans that "France in her weakness leaves you to your fate; England in her strength will befriend you," had sunk deep into the hearts of Frenchmen in British America, and that loyalty was becoming to them an honest acceptance of British rule at the hands of men who understood, in far greater measure than themselves, how to administer its principles—as then practised. And this despite errors of judgment and evidences of ignorance in those rulers which must now be admitted. But the Colonial Office and the Governors

had, even at the best, a difficult task in Lower Canada. A popular elective Assembly, with a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown and an Executive Council to advise the Governor, had been created after the Act of 1791, there as well as in Upper Canada. It was hoped that the Assembly would prove conciliatory, would make friends of the mass of an alien population, and would facilitate government while promoting the unity of races. Within a few years of the century's opening it had commenced to do exactly the reverse. The two Councils were naturally in the hands of the dominant English minority; the Assembly soon, and with equal appropriateness, fell into the hands of the popular French majority. Then came the crucial issue. Had there been friendship and social intercourse between the races; had the English been able or willing to trust the French-Canadians; had the latter been as loyal to what were called British institutions as they claimed to be in Parliamentary resolutions; had either section clearly understood the questions discussed with so much foam and froth in French papers and with such limited comprehension in the English press; had the Governors been firm and consistent in their own policy and been steadily supported at home; the development which followed might have been steadily useful and cohesive. As it turned out the process was one which involved the evolution of a discontented majority into a party of triumphant popular demagoguery.

The first and chief mistake of the Home Government was in beginning at the top of the edifice of popular rule instead of at the bottom, and for this it had to suffer in thirty years of Lower Canadian turmoil. It gave elective institutions of a Parliamentary character to a people not only utterly untrained in such matters, but to whom the very principle of suffrage was a vague abstraction. It gave them this franchise when, individually and as a race, they were ignorant of its proper use and at a time when in England herself complete responsible government was not a fact. Many hundreds of years had been required in the Old Land to permeate the masses with a proper knowledge of how to apply their power within limits which assured moderation of procedure and stability of administration. The English people had evolved the existing system—incomplete as it was—out of centuries of town and county and local government. In Lower Canada a Legislature sprang full-panoplied into the political arena within an hour, and a people who did not know even the meaning of the lowest forms of municipal government and had been trained under a system devised by French Kings of the most autocratic type were expected to use this complex popular machine with the experienced honesty of English squires and the patriotic purposes of a Pitt or a Burke. Naturally, they did not employ it in the way expected and before long were using it with all their power to obtain anything and everything from the Executive, or from

the Colonial Office, which might strengthen the influence of their race and check the dominance of the conquerors. Of course the Executive Council—composed at first entirely and afterwards chiefly of Englishmen, as was the Legislative Council—was expected to counteract any possible struggle for supremacy by the popular House. It did so, but only at the expense of incessant friction between the Assembly and the Council, the Governor and the majority of the people. The Governors were instructed, it is true, to conciliate the masses, and they sometimes did so to the point of serious inconsistency—Sir George Prevost appearing to repudiate the vigorous policy of Sir J. H. Craig and Lord Gosford to have for a time renounced the strongly applied principles of the Earl of Dalhousie.

Neither the Governors, the English population, the French leaders nor the French *habitants* knew exactly what they wanted to achieve in these years, such proposals as there were being destructive and not constructive. The Governors did not desire to lessen the Crown's prerogative of appointing its own advisers; and no one in any party in Lower Canada advocated in practical form the establishment of a Cabinet or Ministry subject to the entire control of the Assembly and appointed by the Crown. The Governors naturally did not want to strengthen in the Colony an influence which was steadily showing itself more and more aggressive and hostile towards the British minority; and when surrenders of prin-

ciple or practice were made for purposes of conciliation it was always found that they were merely used as levers with which to work further concessions. They did strive to bring together the two races, but when any one Governor pleased the French he antagonised the English, and *vice versa*. They knew nothing, and the Colonial Office knew nothing, as yet, of the possibility of making a Governor the constitutional sovereign of a distant country, and at the same time the nominal representative of the British Crown. Such a theory would have then seemed to involve the practically complete severance of connection between the countries. Moreover, under the circumstances, in Lower Canada it would have been at this time impossible. Part of the funds used in the Province came from Great Britain. Imperial troops were maintained there by the Crown. The Customs duties were controlled by the Imperial Government. Many of the official salaries were paid from the same source and Imperial moneys were constantly at the service of the Governors. The Colony was neither self-supporting nor self-governing in the modern sense of the word. The general mission of the Governor, under definite instructions from the Imperial Government and apart from minor details of compromise or conciliation, was to act as the non-partisan head of the Province and to rule it, with or without the advice of the English or French, in the best interest of its union with Great Britain. He was his own Prime Minister. That he some-

times became the head of the British section of the people and was looked upon as the bitter enemy of the other and larger parts of the population, or else, through a desire to conciliate the latter element, became the instrument of the Assembly in its conflict with the English, seems to have been the inevitable result of conditions which evolved into a prolonged racial struggle.

The English population were also in the clouds upon constitutional matters, though not quite in the same measure as the French. They naturally believed that in a British country they should be supreme under the Crown, and, knowing their own loyalty while gravely doubting that of the popular majority, they expected to have their views maintained by the Representatives of the Crown. Englishmen filled the chief positions in the Province, frequently held in person more than one office, and made the Legislative and Executive Councils to some extent instruments for registering their decisions and expressing their opinions. Their views were by no means always accepted by the Governors. Nor were they always opposed to what would now be termed the best interests of the people. But they were essentially the opinions of a class which was alien in thought and practice to the average Frenchman, and therefore either incomprehensible or unpleasant to him. A very natural difficulty between the races was also that of religion. Men like Herman W. Ryland, who was for many years in office,

were bigoted, though honest, in the belief that Protestantism must be made dominant in the Colony. Even a leader such as Chief Justice Sewell, who bore the curiously mingled reputation of being at the same time a keen politician and a dignified and impartial Judge, was described by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, in 1816, in a despatch to the Colonial Secretary,* as having inspired a feeling of violent hostility amongst all classes and in all parts of the Province, mainly because of the popular belief that he was strongly antagonistic to the Roman Catholic faith. It took many years and much careful and cautious work by ecclesiastics such as Bishop Plessis and conciliatory Governors like Sherbrooke and Dalhousie before this religious antagonism was modified. Fortunately, it was somewhat assuaged before the general racial rivalry had developed into armed hostilities. In another direction there was a serious conflict of interest. The English were a trading and commercial people. The French were essentially an agricultural people, and when their leaders assumed control of the Assembly, and endeavoured to completely control taxation, their policy was to keep the soil free of all burdens and make the city and business interests of the Province bear the brunt of the taxation. This attitude was keenly and naturally resented by the English minority.

The French leaders, while drifting from a curious

* Christie, *History of Lower Canada*, vol. 11, p. 268.

radicalism—which combined ideas received from England, France and the United States—into the republicanism which preceded their revolt, were ignorant of the true functions of their constitutional position. They strove to strengthen, and succeeded for a time in doing so, the influence of their race by attacks upon British Governors, English Judges, English Councils and, eventually, the British Parliament. Occasionally they were right, frequently they were wrong, and especially so from the standpoint and conditions of those times. The Governors were fiercely criticised by them for not acting in a constitutional sense as the Sovereign acted in England, though it was utterly impossible to do so without a Ministry responsible to the people, and, as cannot be too strongly reiterated, this does not appear to have been even suggested by the French and was certainly not demanded. The Executive Council, which was really an advisory committee of the Legislative Council, was constantly berated for not being representative of the popular majority in the Lower House. But when French members were appointed to either of the Councils they straightway lost all weight or influence. The Government was attacked for years because some of the Judges—as being the best fitted men in a very limited English population—were members of these political Councils, but when Governor after Governor asked the Assembly to pass a measure which would remedy the difficulty by making the Judiciary independent of poli-

tics and its members ineligible for such offices, the request was refused unless the right of voting their yearly salaries, and thus making them subservient to the wishes of the French majority in the Assembly itself, was also given.

The latter body demanded vigorously and continuously the right to control the Government by controlling the revenue and expenditure of the Province, and around this claim centred the controversies of the entire period from 1800 to 1837. Part of the revenue came from the Customs and Excise, which were in the hands of the Home authorities and were mainly subject in disposal to the advice of the Governor and his Executive Council. Another portion came from local taxation and was controlled in its origin and application by the Assembly—subject to the approval of the Legislative Council and Governor. There was another variable quantity in the controversy consisting of Imperial Army Funds which were under the direct and specific control of the Governor and from which he sometimes drew over a term of years to the extent of from twenty to a hundred thousand pounds, when required to meet ordinary expenses of administration which the Assembly might refuse to provide for. All expenditure was supposed to be initiated by the Governor. After a struggle the popular body obtained from the Crown the right to vote the entire amount of expenditure, inclusive of the revenue from all sources and excepting any sums which might be paid by

the Imperial Government. But this power was given on the distinct understanding that an adequate sum would be voted as a permanent Civil List to His Majesty in accordance with the custom of the British Parliament and for the payment, in this case, of salaries to Canadian officials and of expenses which were assumed to be not subject to change. By one excuse and another the carrying out of this part of the settlement was postponed, and the supply vote was made every year a subject of continuous and acrid controversy over the position of officials—often Judges—whom the Assembly wanted dismissed, or changed, and over the refusal of the Council to agree to grants having such proposals included.

The history of this period in the Lower Province is essentially formative in a political sense because the French-Canadians had to crowd into less than half a century the discussions and political education which England had taken many centuries to develop. That the *habitant* and his leaders went astray, and tried to make the terms race and party interchangeable, was not so much the fault of the easy-going but excitable nature of the former or so greatly discreditable to his loyalty to what demagogues soon made him consider an alien and hostile authority, as it was traceable to the English folly of trying to transplant an old English oak upon French soil. The intention was good but the reasons fallacious and the result regrettable. Between 1830

and 1837 sedition, to many in Lower Canada, was a positive virtue, and to the leaders there loomed upon the horizon of hope a vision which took the somewhat shadowy form of a French republic which might be based upon the example and institutions of the United States and guarded by its neighbourhood and friendship. This expectation and the inevitably resulting bloodshed was feared and foreseen by the English minority, and when the final flash of folly came Lord Durham reported to the Imperial Government in 1838 what seemed to him at that time to be the "irreconcilable enmity" of the two branches of the people and the "irremediable disaffection of the whole French population." In this respect he was fortunately a false prophet, but his belief sufficiently illustrates the position of the two races. Out of this very extreme of violence, however, came the crown of constitutional experience which prepared the French Canadians for their future career in making them understand the superior advantage of constitutional agitation and fair play to all classes and races over the results of rebellion. And in that sense the insurrection was a great formative influence in Lower as well as in Upper Canada.

In all the Maritime Provinces during this period political development was upon lines similar to the direction of affairs in Upper Canada, but with the exception that agitation was moderate, conditions less strenuous and politics comparatively mild, until

about 1834, when Sir Colin Campbell came out as Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia and Joseph Howe forged to the front as a Liberal orator and politician. After that time the issue between the Executive and Legislative Councils and the representative Assembly was very much like the same struggle elsewhere. The Governors of these years were men of high character and obeyed their instructions from the Imperial Government, as it was their duty and supposed function to do. They asked the advice of their Executive when it seemed desirable, and expected to control its policy on behalf of the Crown and in the interest, as they deemed it, of British connection and unity. They strove naturally to maintain Loyalist influence in the Councils and to strengthen the hands of the Church which was established in the Old Land and which all British Governors in this period looked upon as a bulwark of loyalty against the disaffection which might develop from seeds of American religious democracy. Inevitably other classes of the growing population resented the application of these views and soon sought to check them by controlling the House of Assembly and the supplies. But it seems no more reasonable to denounce the Council of Nova Scotia, as Howe did in 1837, as being "exclusive, intolerant, opposed to the spread of civil and religious liberty, enlightenment and education among the people and actuated by motives of self-interest," than it was to proclaim the Liberals in that Province as disloyal be-

cause they attacked the Governor who was without the shield of a Prime Minister. In the light of a later period we can see that the Loyalist or Tory leaders of the Maritime Provinces were in the main honourable and honest men. Exclusive they might be, but only in very few cases did they ever take advantage of their position in any sense of self-interest, while the Church of England had been in so marked a measure the pioneer of religious and educational work in all these Provinces that the desire of the Governors and Councils to strengthen its hands was easily defensible. In New Brunswick difficulties between the Assembly and the Governors had only been occasional, but about 1834 they also became acute, and under an agitation led by Lemuel Allen Wilmot they were in great measure settled by the concession to the Legislature of control over the revenues in return for what Lower Canada had promised but did not grant—a permanent Civil List. Prince Edward Island was meantime governed upon a genuinely despotic basis. Its soil was largely owned by English capitalists, and as the Governors represented them more than they did the Crown, popular influence in the country was insignificant during the whole of this period.

THE HON. JOSEPH HOWE,
Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER X.

THE EVOLUTION OF A REBELLION.

The political and constitutional conditions in the various Provinces had been so much alike during the first forty years of the century—with the exception of the racial factor in Lower Canada—that the ultimate issue of rebellion or reform turned largely upon the personal qualities of the leaders. Without the tempestuous recklessness of character in William Lyon Mackenzie, the troubles in Upper Canada would never have reached the arbitrament of force. Without the fiery eloquence, the uncontrolled passion, the commanding presence and the personal power of Louis Joseph Papineau, the racial feelings of a portion of the French-Canadian population would never have been beaten into a white heat upon the anvil of rhetorical misrepresentation. With the marvellous influence which the oratory and personality of Joseph Howe exercised over the people of Nova Scotia he could have driven his political enemies like chaff before the wind and led his followers along any path of fire and fury which he desired. But, though impetuous and enthusiastic, as well as eloquent, he was stable in his loyalty to the

Crown and sane in his wider mental outlook. So with Lemuel Allan Wilmot in New Brunswick. Possessed of distinct oratorical ability though lacking in mental magnetism, he was essentially a Parliamentary leader and debater rather than a political firebrand, while his Loyalist descent prevented him from rushing into reckless courses. Yet all these men seemed for years to be in the same boat, and with only degrees of violence between them.

Of the early Tory leaders much might be written. Their political views have been so unpopular and so misunderstood in times which know nothing of the conditions under which they governed, and little of the principles by which they were actuated, that space might well be given, and must some day be given, to an adequate picture of their lives and ideals. Jonathan Sewell in Lower Canada, John Beverley Robinson in Upper Canada, S. G. W. Archibald and James W. Johnston in Nova Scotia and Ward Chipman in New Brunswick were men of the highest type—honourable, cultured, able and, in different degrees, eloquent. John Strachan of Upper Canada was a militant ecclesiastic of an older school, and stands out upon the pages of history with a rugged force which is so picturesque as to be exceedingly attractive to the imaginative mind. But defiance usually attracts more attention than defence, the apostle of change is always more popular than the guardian of the constitution, and the advocate of revolution more discussed than the

preacher of evolution. Hence the dominance of the agitator in the formative pages of Canadian history.

In Upper Canada political events prior to or during the War of 1812 were not very important. Peter Hunter and Francis Gore succeeded Simcoe as Lieut.-Governors, and the latter, who spent much of his time in England, had his place filled by Administrators such as Brock, Sheaffe, De Rottenburg, Drummond and Murray. In 1818, Lieut.-General Sir Peregrine Maitland, a son-in-law of the Duke of Richmond, a veteran of Waterloo and a handsome man of aristocratic bearing and naturally conservative mind, became Lieut.-Governor. Ten years later another veteran of the Peninsular War, Sir John Colborne—afterwards a Field Marshal and a peer with the title of Baron Seaton—succeeded to the position. In 1836 he was replaced by Sir Francis Bond Head, an English official of little political or constitutional experience, but with a passionate belief in British connection and the forms of British government. Two years later Sir George Arthur, another military man of some Colonial experience as Governor in Tasmania and Honduras, came to the helm, and, with a few months' exception, guided its affairs through the darkened days which followed the rebellion into the brighter but still troubled period which opened out of the Union of 1841.

During these years large grants of land were made in every direction and to almost any person who could show reason for its possession and use, or

title in the shape of Loyalist service or good local position. Colonel Talbot received 48,500 acres, the Laird of McNab was given a large grant, Bishop Mountain received 12,000 acres, and the heirs of General Brock a similar amount. But the great mass went to specific interests, or rather individuals representing certain conditions or enactments. In the Clergy Reserves were included 2,395,000 acres; to the United Empire Loyalists were given 2,900,000 acres; to the Canada Company, for the encouragement of colonisation and in return for a definite payment, there were granted 2,484,000 acres; in the Indian Reserves, in 1838, there were some 600,000 acres. The Militia, chiefly after the War of 1812, received 645,000 acres, the schools of the Province were given 500,000 acres, and discharged soldiers and seamen were granted 449,000 acres. A balance of over eight hundred thousand acres was divided amongst retired army and navy officers, magistrates and barristers, clergymen, Executive and Legislative Councillors and surveyors.* A total of 575,000 acres is recorded in Lord Durham's celebrated Report as having been allotted to miscellaneous purposes which he was unable to trace in detail. This sums up over eleven million acres of wild lands disposed of during this period. By 1838, indeed, but little over a million acres remained un-

* Appendix "B," written by Charles Buller and published in the *Report* of the Earl of Durham, High Commissioner and Governor-General of British America, London, 1838.

granted of all the vast Crown Lands of the Province.

How far this great power may have been abused is something upon which there has been at once too much specification and too much generalisation. Because members of the two Councils and friends of the governing element in the Province shared in these grants—the Robinsons, Jarvises, Boultons, Sherwoods, etc.—corruption has been freely charged. But there was nothing to buy in a political sense. These men and others like them were in any case friends of the Government and Tories to the hilt. There was no organised Opposition which they could have joined with propriety, while the land itself was then comparatively valueless. Those who held it for a quarter of a century no doubt made money, and in this profit Liberal families like the Baldwins shared. At the same time there were unquestionably abuses, of which the treatment of the Indian grants in the first years of the century is an illustration, while the half million acres of which neither Lord Durham nor Mr. Buller was able to find official traces is probably an indication of, at the best, extreme carelessness. Amongst such vast quantities of land and in conditions natural to a wide expanse of wilderness and to primitive arrangements of government, carelessness is in some measure excusable. But it was hardly fair, even under the circumstances of that time and taking into consideration all the just and strong claims of the Loyalists,

that so much of the soil should have been estranged from its future settlers. The policy created a natural ground of discontent when population poured into the Province and sought to spread itself over the apparently unoccupied wilderness all around—only to find that large portions of the country were tied up in reserves and grants of various kinds and for reasons which did not particularly appeal to the sympathies of the newcomers.

The greatest of the grievances arising out of this situation was in the Clergy Reserves which, under the Imperial Act of 1791, had been put aside to the extent of one-eighth—or, as it came to be practically interpreted, one-seventh—of the waste lands of the Canadas, for the maintenance of a "Protestant Clergy." These words were afterwards the subject of serious and continued controversy, but there seems little doubt from the conditions prevalent in England between the Church of England and Nonconformists, the correspondence of Simcoe, and the general policy of Downing Street in early years, that they were intended to apply solely to the Established Church. For many years these lands were practically worthless and, up to 1829, were only occasionally leased by the Government in whose hands any small sums coming from rents or sales were held. In 1822 the House of Assembly petitioned the King asking for the various Protestant bodies a share in the lands, and in the succeeding year asked that a portion of the Reserves be given to the

Church of Scotland in Canada. In 1826 a similar resolution was passed with the suggestion that if such a general denominational division were deemed undesirable the whole of the land might be given to educational purposes. The Assembly during the years mentioned was in the hands of a mixed party of Oppositionists composed of Old-Country Radicals, moderate Liberals, Americanised Reformers with semi-republican ideas, others who had suffered from the exclusiveness of the party in power, and some who from their religious views naturally objected to the dominance of the Church. In 1819 a Clergy Corporation had been formed to manage the Reserves, subject to the payment of all moneys into the hands of the Government, and two years later regular payments to the Church of England commenced. In 1836 the Church scored vigorously by the establishment of forty-four endowed rectories throughout the Province under the strong initiative of Sir John Colborne, who, with military sternness, recked nothing of abuse when doing what he deemed his duty by the Church of his fathers and for the cause of what he and his advisers considered the stable organisation of religion in accordance with the prevailing British custom. But the action created a feeling which, combined with other causes, broke into the ultimate storm-cloud of rebellion.

There was in these years much of what might be termed the personal issue in the progress of agitation. Men were estranged by the social supremacy

of individual Loyalists and their friends, who held all the avenues of power and position. Others were embittered by finding classes established in a new country where they had expected to experience all the boasted blessings of equality. Some would have been discontented anywhere and under any possible conditions. Of such a type was Robert Gourlay. There is no doubt that the rulers of the day were harsh and that his confinement in jail was cruelly managed, or mismanaged; and that expulsion from the country, in 1819, as a result of his trial on charges of sedition was unjust. But the times themselves were harsh, the men in power or their immediate families had gone through fearful hardships to win this soil for themselves, and much may therefore be forgiven them in dealing with those whom they looked upon as interlopers without stake in the country, without knowledge of its institutions, without sympathy for its foundation, without that loyalty to the Crown which was to them as their very life. Gourlay's views were in some respects far-seeing, and from the standpoint of to-day just, but others were beyond measure foolish and erratic. For this ruined gentleman from Fifeshire to undertake a vigorous agitation against the established Government of the Province before he had been a year within its bounds was sufficiently exasperating to the holders of power. But when he commenced to have what were deemed seditious meetings and to send complaints to England, it is not surprising that the

result was unpleasant to him. It has been more so to similar agitators in greater countries than Upper Canada. His point of view may be seen and judged in an extract from a work * published some years later: "The fancy of giving to Canada the British Constitution was a good one: about as rational as to think of cultivating sugar-canes in Siberia or to entertain hope from grafting a fruit twig on an icicle."

Gourlay had been preceded by other would-be reformers. Robert Thorpe was an Englishman appointed in 1805 by the Colonial Office to be a Judge in Upper Canada. He early took a vigorous part in politics, and as a Radical was elected to the Assembly soon after his arrival. It is not surprising that the Governor and Executive Council should have obtained the recall, within two years, of a Judge who had not been more than a few months in the country before he informed the people that their Administration possessed "neither talent, education, information nor even manners." Yet this personal travesty upon judicial functions is a political hero to many Canadian writers, and was so to many people in the Province at a time when one of their chief and most important planks of policy was the separation of Judicial and Legislative functions—the removal of Judges from the two Councils! So in the case of Judge Willis, who, after a few months in York, undertook to censure Attorney-General Rob-

* *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*, by Robert Gourlay, London, 1822.

inson from the Bench for some extraneous matter, to denounce the legal system of the Colony, and to profess his public sympathy with those who opposed the Government. Naturally he was recalled and became another hero of the agitators. Surveyor-General Wyatt was dismissed because he refused to accept the dictum that an office-holder should have no politics, and Wilcocks, for similar cause, lost the position of Sheriff in the Home District and died, eventually, in the American army at Fort Erie. Later on Barnabas Bidwell, a refugee from American justice,* and a friend of Gourlay's, was elected in 1821 to the Assembly but was promptly expelled on motion of Attorney-General Robinson. His son, Marshall Spring Bidwell, was Speaker of the House and a leading Liberal when the Rebellion broke out.

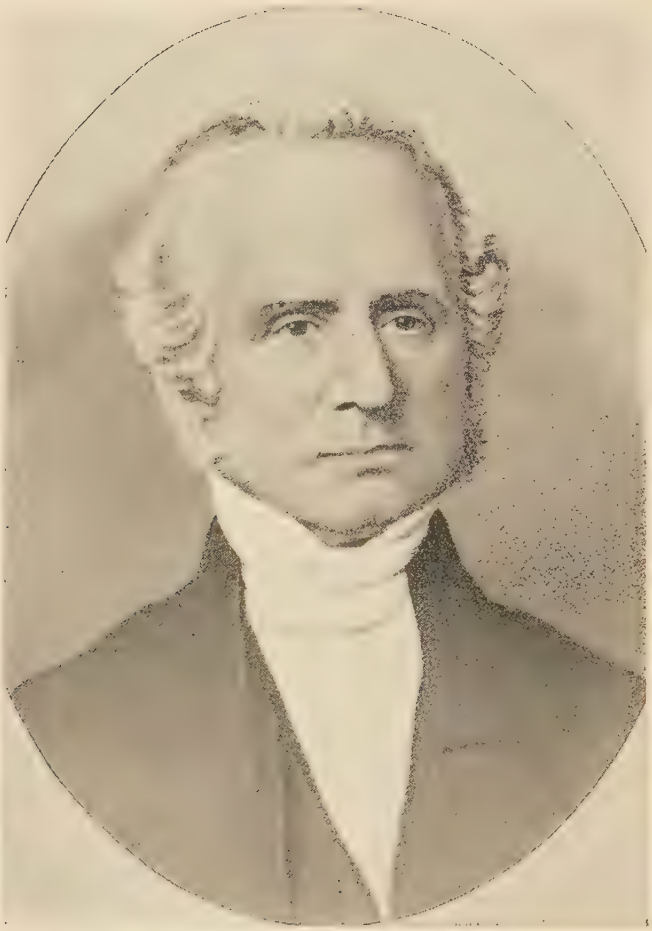
Other instances of oppression, or alleged oppression, must be mentioned. Captain Mathews, a British half-pay officer who had been elected to the Assembly, was summoned to England and his half-pay stopped, because at a theatrical performance at York in 1825 he had, in an hilarious mood, called on the orchestra to play some American airs. In 1828 a man named Forsyth erected a high fence in front of his property at Niagara Falls so as to prevent visitors from seeing them without staying at his inn. Upon his refusal to remove the barrier Sir Peregrine Maitland sent some soldiers who demolished the

* *Canada and the Canadian Question*, by Goldwin Smith, London, 1891, p. 111.

fence and one of Forsyth's houses. Both these men became Reform heroes. Another of the same type was Francis Collins, who, in a Radical paper called the *Canadian Freeman,* was even more bitter and abusive than Mackenzie in his *Colonial Advocate.* Attorney-General Robinson, who always bore the full courage of his convictions, urged a charge of personal libel against Collins, and the case was eventually tried before a Court presided over by Judge Sherwood—a former member of the Tory party. The result was conviction, heavy fines and imprisonment, and the creation of a new grievance.

Meanwhile other men and matters were coming to the front. Dr. John Rolph, subtle in intellect, scholastic in attainments, successful in his profession, handsome in appearance, sweet-voiced, logical and eloquent as a speaker, was returned to the Assembly in 1824. So wes Peter Perry, who came in from Lennox and Addington with young Marshall Bidwell, and was possessed of a vigorous and coarse eloquence which made him a power upon the stump —as the political platform is called in both Canada and the States. Later on, Dr. William Warren Baldwin of York, and his more celebrated son, Robert, entered the Legislature and became leaders of the moderate Liberals, whilst Rolph, Perry and Bidwell followed Mackenzie. The latter came to Canada in 1820 from Scotland, and four years afterwards started the *Colonial Advocate* at Niagara, and then at York, with a sufficiently comprehensive plat-

form of denunciation. He declared the men in the Executive and Legislative Councils, on the Bench, and in the chief public positions under appointment of the Governors and the Colonial Office, to be land-jobbers, revenue grabbers and avowed enemies of common schools or of civil and religious liberty. He denounced them with a savagery of style and language such as few agitators have equalled and none excelled. This newcomer was an extraordinary man. Insignificant in appearance, wiry in physique, fiery in temperament, strong in his sympathies, bitter and ill-balanced in political advocacy, he yet soon became a great force in politics. This was partly because of his denunciatory power; partly because of the ill-advised action of some Tory youths who, in 1826, broke into his printing office at York and destroyed his press; partly because of the subsequent efforts—five in number—by a majority composed of the same party to expel him from the House of Assembly to which he had been elected in 1828, and to which he was re-elected after each expulsion. With these events the malignancy of his attacks greatly increased, as well as the influence of his paper. In 1832 he was sent to England with a petition, signed by a large number of persons, protesting against his exclusion from the Assembly—an action which the Colonial Secretary declared to be illegal. He there formed sundry important friendships, and an alliance with Joseph Hume and other Radicals, returned



THE HON. SIR JOHN BEVERLY ROBINSON, BART., C.B., D.C.L.

home to find himself a popular idol, and in 1834 was chosen as the first Mayor of York under its newly incorporated name of Toronto.

The position now became acute. Everything that the Governor did was Tory tyranny; everything that the Opposition did was Republican disloyalty. The Imperial authorities, ever anxious to assuage animosities, recalled Maitland and substituted Colborne. Later on they somewhat hastily removed Colborne and sent out Sir Francis Bond Head. Their policy was misinterpreted, as a matter of course, and every fresh appearance of yielding to popular clamour was one more nail in the coffin of the Colonial system of the day. No Prime Minister intervened between the Governor and the discontented faction, and, as the former represented the Crown and stood for the policy of Downing Street, it was as inevitable that disloyalty should spread as it was that the dominant party should close its ranks and all the more firmly stand by, and with, the Governor and the cause of British connection which he seemed to embody. Meanwhile, as the violence of Mackenzie and his section grew greater, Liberals of sagacity and genuine loyalty such as Marshall Bidwell, Robert Baldwin and Egerton Ryerson withdrew their support from him. In 1829 the governing party lost a dignified and devoted Attorney-General when Mr. John Beverley Robinson accepted the post of Chief Justice. The Assembly of 1830, including such strong Tories as C. A. Hagerman,

W. B. Robinson, H. J. Boulton and A. N. McNab, had a majority for what all through this period was called by its opponents the "Family Compact." The origin of the name is found in the fact that the Tory members of the two Councils, and the holders of many offices in the Province, were frequently related to each other. It was not the case to the extent which has been often believed and stated, but it was sufficiently so to give the designation point and to increase the personal animosities of the time. From the social limitations then prevalent, the smallness of population, and the natural and political ties which grew out of pioneer days, some degree of relationship was inevitable, but to assert that the offices in the Province were all filled by relations, and for that reason, is an extreme development of partisan bias and misstatement. There was, however, too much of it to deserve popular approval either then or now. In 1831 the Tory majority in the Assembly passed a bill rendering the Judges and the Executive Council independent of the House in the matter of salaries. It was nicknamed the "Everlasting Salary Bill" and was the subject of intense vituperation. Yet, so far as the Judge was concerned, few would take exception to it in these days.

In 1834 the Assembly was once more captured by the extreme party, despite the loss of many moderate Liberals as the result of a letter received by Mackenzie from Joseph Hume in which the eminent

English Radical expressed the belief that events in Canada must "terminate in independence and freedom from the baneful domination of the Mother Country." Mackenzie did not repudiate the sentiments thus expressed, and at the next elections they had somewhat the effect of a boomerang. In 1836 Sir Francis Bond Head appeared on the scene as Lieut.-Governor and with the reputation of being an English Liberal. He at once filled three vacancies in the Executive Council by the appointment of Liberals in the persons of Messrs. Baldwin, Rolph and Dunn. But the coalition arrangement did not last long, as the new Councillors believed that they should be consulted upon every detail of government, including appointments, and this was according to neither precedent nor practice. Then came general elections into which the Governor threw himself heart and soul in the belief that it was a struggle between monarchy and republicanism, between loyalty and disloyalty, between British and American institutions.* He certainly had some ground for the feeling. A letter from Papineau, in Lower Canada, addressed as Speaker of its Assembly to Bidwell, as Speaker in Upper Canada, and dated March 15th, 1836, declared, amongst other interesting assertions, that: "The state of society all over continental America requires that the forms of its Government should approximate nearer to that

* *A Narrative*, by Sir Francis Bond Head, Bart., London, 1839, p. 65.

selected, under propitious circumstances and after mature consideration, by the wise statesmen of the neighbouring Union, than to those into which chance and past ages have moulded European societies." The publication of this extraordinary document, coupled with the statement in the famous Hume letter, the well-known American tendency of Mackenzie's own views, and the expressions of lesser men along similar lines, had a decisive effect upon the electorate. The result of this extreme position, and the equally strong attitude taken by the Representative of the Crown, was that Loyalist or British sentiment was everywhere aroused; the new settlers who had been pouring into the Province gave in many cases their first and last Tory vote; Mackenzie, Perry, Lount, Bidwell (who had once more been actively supporting his old-time leader) and many other Radicals were beaten at the polls; and a Tory minority of eleven in the Assembly was turned into a majority of twenty-five. Then Mackenzie lost all control over himself and the insurrection followed.

The history of this period in Lower Canada is the record of a confused medley of conflicting ideas and impossible ideals. Governor succeeded Governor, with Tory or Liberal proclivities as the case might be, but with exactly similar results of popular dissatisfaction—varied though the causes were. The century opened with Sir Robert Shore Milnes acting as Lieutenant-Governor. Then, in 1807,

came General Sir James H. Craig, who was succeeded in 1811 by General Sir George Prevost. Able, honest and laborious, the former became to the French-Canadian the embodiment of British supremacy in that alien and oppressive aspect which agitators were beginning to give it, while to the English element he was the ideal of a stern and vigorous ruler who would stand no nonsense from a conquered people of doubtful loyalty. *Le Canadien* was forcibly suppressed in 1810 for the unquestionable preaching of sedition at Quebec, and this commenced a long struggle between rival newspapers of extreme views, with the occasional and bitterly resented interference of the Government. Each of the papers, English or French, addressed the readers of its race without any fair reference to the views of the other, and the consequence was that each side grew in violence of sentiment without the least adequate idea of what the opposite standpoint really was. The rolling and broadening river of racial and religious antagonisms was not bridged by a press having views along party lines irrespective of those two great issues. Some of the English-speaking people did, it is true, take the side of the French-Canadians up to a certain point, and the chief of these was John Neilson of Quebec. But they were themselves groping in the dark in a constitutional sense and could do little to help the solution of the growing riddle, although they did not like the extreme views of men like Ryland who, as the Gov-

ernor's Secretary and close adviser, wrote to England in 1808 that the Assembly would soon become a "focus of sedition and an asylum for all the demagogic turbulence of the Province." In some measure he was right, but extremes beget extremes, and his known contempt for the religious faith of the French population did something to increase the friction and promote the result that he feared. In April of the succeeding year Pierre Bédard, a Radical French-Canadian of great ability, declared in the Assembly that the existing system was a constitutional monstrosity, advocated a responsible ministry and deprecated the fierce attacks upon the Governor. But he was universally regarded as the apostle of revolutionary doctrines and evil ideas,* and his courageous suggestion found no support then or for many years afterwards. Yet without that principle in sight the agitations of the following period were but eruptive evidences of discontent or disloyalty without the advantage afforded by constructive proposals or the excuse furnished by a practicable policy.

Sir George Prevost was very different in personality and principle from Craig. Conciliatory and yielding in character, he gave an impression to the French element in the Province that if their demands were maintained with sufficient vigour they would be eventually granted, and the entire revenues

* *Histoire du Canada*, by Francis Xavier Garneau, vol. 3, p. 189.

of the Province and the control of the Executive Council and Judiciary be placed in their hands—to say nothing of the ultimate acceptance of the elective Legislative Council scheme which was just beginning to be urged. For this he was not altogether censurable, and, so far as Lower Canada was concerned, his Administration succeeded in rallying the people generally to the defence of their country during the war and in relegating unpleasant questions in some measure to the background. The Civil List discussions constituted the chief political topic at this time, though only in a preliminary degree of violence. The Assembly, in 1809, had offered to pay the salaries of the officials and to thus relieve the Imperial authorities of what was called the Civil List. They at the same time thanked the British Government for having so long assisted in defraying this expenditure. Most of the English members in the House supported the proposition, but the bill was rejected by the Council on the ground that it was a scheme to make them dependent on the Assembly, and not until 1816 was the offer accepted by command of the Home Government, on the understanding that a permanent Civil List would be voted. This was not done, and further disputes of a comparatively unimportant character ensued until, in 1820, the Earl of Dalhousie succeeded the Duke of Richmond as Governor-in-Chief. The latter's career of aristocratic prominence and promise had been sadly closed by death from hydrophobia in 1819

after he had been a year in the Province in succession to a most popular and able Administrator of two years' duration—Sir John Coape Sherbrooke.

Lord Dalhousie had a very severe and unpleasant experience in Lower Canada. Extremely popular in Nova Scotia, where he had been Lieutenant-Governor for some years, he reached Quebec and assumed his higher dignities * at a time when public feeling was again beginning to violently clash with public government. Not since the time of Craig had there been such a sentiment abroad. Chief Justice Sewell and Judge Monk, after their impeachment by the Assembly in 1814—a step in which neither the Governor nor the Council would concur—had become stronger than ever in their advisory capacities, while Papineau was not only the tribune of the people and Speaker of the new Assembly elected in 1820 but a leader of resourceful rhetoric who never scrupled in his semi-judicial position to make a popular point by sneering at the Court, scoffing at the Crown, and defying the Constitution as then understood. His measured eloquence at this time has been described as falling like balanced music on a listening House or leaping like a devastating flame in congenial

* The Governors-in-Chief of British America, or, as they were sometimes styled, Governors-General, lived at Quebec up to the Union of 1841 and administered mainly the affairs of Lower Canada. Their intervention in the other Provinces was very slight and occasional, although the Administrators elsewhere were all termed Lieutenant-Governors.

stubble, through the heated minds of his auditory. It must be remembered in this connection that, so far as using the position of Speaker as a partisan office was concerned, he had the precedent of the Upper House in the different Provinces, where the Chief Justice usually held the Speakership while acting also as an adviser to the Governor. Into the midst of these curious constitutional conceptions and political practices Lord Dalhousie came with clear ideas of government and duty. His belief was that until the country should be freed of this universal strife little material progress could be made. Agriculture, through all this period and up to 1841, was neglected for politics; transportation matters, so essential to a scattered population, received slight attention; education was left in the hands of the Church or of private individuals.

The new Governor had excellent plans of his own upon these points, but he first tried to get rid of the everlasting revenue discussions, and to that end asked the Assembly once more to fulfil its pledge and grant a permanent Civil List. When this was refused he appropriated the necessary funds and paid the expenses himself. The sources available for use in this way were the proceeds of an Imperial excise tax on spirits and molasses dating from 1774, and the "casual and territorial revenue" derived from leases of mines and sales of land. The funds obtained from customs duties on goods coming into the Province—for Upper Canada as well—were entirely

in the hands of the Assembly, and its disposition of these moneys, later on, caused serious disputes with the Upper Province, which culminated some fifteen years afterwards; and in the meantime helped an agitation amongst the English of Quebec and Montreal for the immediate legislative union of the two Provinces. A scheme was actually proposed in 1822 by the British Government which arranged, incidentally, for the elimination of the French language from the Legislative debates in the course of a defined period. This unpopular proposal, coupled with some noisy talk amongst the English minority, and the later defalcation of the Receiver-General (John Caldwell) in the large sum of £96,000, increased immensely the feeling against Lord Dalhousie and prevented his really useful plans for the well-being of the Province from being successful. He had meantime freely used Imperial funds from the Army Chest to "carry on the King's Government" and to pay salaries when the Assembly refused to vote the Appropriation Bill. In 1827 he refused to receive or accept Papineau as Speaker—in accordance with a recognised Royal prerogative and because of the latter's violent language regarding himself as the King's Representative. Then came mass meetings, bitter language, acrid discussions and petitions demanding his recall, together with counter meetings, petitions and speeches amongst the English party.

The Imperial Parliament in 1828 appointed a

Committee to examine into the affairs of both the Canadas, and it finally recommended that the Crown duties should be placed in control of the Assembly on condition of its granting a permanent Civil List as in England; that the Judges should give up their seats in the Executive and Legislative Councils; that Bishops should not be allowed to interfere in matters of government; that Receivers-General should give security and have their accounts examined by the Assembly's auditors; and that the membership of the Executive and Legislative Councils should be enlarged and made more representative. There would have been no difficulty in carrying out these suggestions had the Assembly been reasonable, but nothing would really satisfy its now fiery aspirations except complete dominance in the Province. The road was indeed almost ready for the restless steeds of insurrection. It was roughly paved with the bitter execration which Lord Dalhousie, who was one of the most amiable, courteous and generous of men, received during these years. He had been described as a public robber gorging himself with plunder; as one who hated the religion, language and laws of *La Nation Canadienne:* as an arrogant and oppressive tyrant who was stirring up a rebellion which would sweep the remains of British power from the American continent. His recall at this time and appointment to the Command-in-Chief of India did not improve the situation. And yet almost his last act had been to help erect

the now famous Quebec monument to the joint memory of Wolfe and Montcalm. He left Canada in September with the regret of all the English element and to the delight of the French-Canadians.

The recommendations of the Canada Committee in the Imperial Parliament were now placed in the hands of Sir James Kempt, who for two years continued to administer affairs in Lower Canada with the rank of Lieutenant-Governor. He made several reforms, or changes, along the lines of that Report and called some prominent French-Canadians to the Executive Council. But the central issue—the control of the Crown revenues—remained unsettled, and after a period of deceitful calm, agitation broke out with fresh vehemence owing to the steady refusal of the Colonial Office to place the entire revenue in the hands of the Assembly whilst its pledge of a permanent Civil List remained unkept. And so this question stood until the insurrection and the succeeding union with Upper Canada. Lord Aylmer took the place of Sir James Kempt in 1830, and in the following year received appointment as Governor-in-Chief. His period of rule, terminating in 1835, is important for its vain efforts at conciliating the fire-eating French majority in the Assembly and the Province; for the refusal of the House to vote supplies and the inability of the Governor to pay all the officials out of the revenue at his command; for the wasting of time in the Assembly by passing votes of censure on the Govern-

ment, listening to fanatical speeches, and examining charges made against Judges in different parts of the Province by violent partisans. In the elections of 1831 an Assembly had been elected composed largely of young Frenchmen fired by the flaming heat of Papineau's oratory. This extraordinary man seems to have become blinded by the praise and popularity which had come to him and was now endeavouring to emulate the exploits of Washington, and raise himself to the position of father and founder of a new republic. Lord Goderich, a clear-headed and wise Colonial Secretary, and Lord Aylmer, were both willing to give the Province every measure of liberty which was possible, but the Assembly would do nothing except emit long and violent addresses to the Crown. In 1833, Bédard, Quesnel, Cuvilier and Neilson, leaders of the moderate Liberals, openly withdrew from Papineau and his party and the Assembly, almost as a unit, fell into the hands of the latter.

The position was becoming intolerable, and Garneau, the literary and historical hero of French Canada, frankly admits in regard to the action of the House towards the proposals of Goderich and Aylmer that a "malign influence" had carried it beyond all prudential limits.* Speaking in the Assembly in January, 1834, Papineau declared that the time had come for the people to set about ob-

* *Histoire du Canada*, by F. X. Garneau, vol. 3, p. 321.

taining a remedy for their grievances even if "the soldiery should slaughter them for it;" denounced monarchical institutions with eloquent vigour; and proclaimed what he believed to be the certain fact that "before long the whole of America will be republicanised." Then came the famous Ninety-Two Resolutions which formed the basis for continuous and fiery harangues throughout the Province during the following three years. They were very long and involved and contained many repetitions and much verbiage. Sifted down, the document was a denunciation of the Governors-General for maladministration and of the two Councils for abetting them in it. The assertion of a partial control over the Crown revenues by the Crown's Representative was given as the chief grievance in this connection. The rejection of the Assembly's violent proposals by the Legislative Council, the fact of most of the Judges being of English birth, the elimination of the French language in some of the Courts, the efforts that had been made to unite the two Canadas, the fact of 157 officials being of English birth or origin and only 47 of French-Canadian birth, were the other principal charges. Coupled with these complaints, and the accompanying declamation, were strong expressions of admiration for the republican institutions of the United States and the statement that they held a larger place in the affections of the people than those of England.

The Resolutions were passed on March 1st, 1834,

in the form of an Address to the Crown, and by an overwhelming majority. The action was promptly opposed by Addresses from the loyal English element of the Province. The most notable document on the latter side of the case was issued by the Montreal Constitutional Society on November 20th. In it the grievances of the minority were pointed out. They were stated to have suffered from the feudal tenure of land and the cramped condition of the laws relating to real property, in both its registration and exchange. They protested against the tax imposed by the Assembly upon British immigrants and the arrangement of the counties in the Eastern Townships so that a French minority could return a majority of representatives. They pointed out that the qualification of magistrates, militia officers and jurors was made to depend upon small property possessions, while most of the English people were engaged in trade and commerce and industry and were therefore debarred from these positions. They dealt with "the abuse of power" shown by the Assembly in its repeated expulsion of Thomas Christie and the consequent disfranchisement of the electors of Gaspé, because he had once expressed strong views regarding the policy of the French majority in that House. They protested against the large salary paid D. B. Viger as the agent of the Assembly in London—without the assent or agreement of the other parts of the Legislature. The refusal of the Assembly to grant a bankruptcy law,

the advice of Papineau that no intercourse should be held with the English population, and the refusal of the House to pass any but temporary laws, were referred to. The willingness shown by some Colonial Secretaries to listen to the opinions of the Assembly, and the consequent compromise of the dignity of the Crown by an unwise change of Governors, was protested against. Abuses in the Land Department were, however, unsparingly dealt with, the feebleness of the Executive Council was pointed out, and the accumulation of offices in the hands of one or two individuals criticised. But it was declared that the English minority were now "an insulted and oppressed people," and that something must be done to remedy the position of affairs. The reply of the Imperial Government was the despatch, in 1835, of a Royal Commission of Inquiry headed by the Earl of Gosford, who was at the same time appointed to succeed Lord Aylmer. Everything that man could do to conciliate the victims of a stormy agitation was done by Lord Gosford. But to evolve order out of the political chaos which now existed was impossible. It was no longer a question of wholesale constitutional change; it was a situation of rampant violence in language and action. The militia was permeated with discontent, the French officers were in most cases centres of agitation, the juries would nowhere convict a French-Canadian, and Papineau was parading the Province like a paper Prince in pompous fiction.

After a year's effort to calm the country the new Governor had to practically give up conciliation, though, unfortunately, he had not the strong character necessary in the adoption of the other alternative of coercion. Matters went on from bad to worse. Then came the Report of his Commission and a resolution based upon it—moved in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell in February, 1837—which pointed out that the Assembly of Lower Canada had granted no supplies since 1832 and that $710,000 was due to Judges and civil servants. It declared that the proposal to make the Legislative Council elective ought not to be granted, but that in some way it should be made more representative of the people as a whole. No one was pleased by this paper compromise, while the so-called patriots were roused to the wildest denunciation. Papineau's organ in Montreal, *The Vindicator,* declared that henceforth there could be no peace in the Province and "no quarter for the plunderers." "Everything is lawful when the fundamental liberties are in danger," continued this interesting sheet. "The Guards die—they never surrender." The spirit of disaffection seemed in the air and in the very soil, and the violence of insurrection was, in fact, soon manifested. But it yet remained for the Church of Rome to show its power and its place in the community, and for the responsible element amongst the French-Canadians to exercise its influence, and, in combination, to turn a threatened revolution into

a series of enlarged riots. The two Provinces had now, however, been brought in different ways, and by excitable agitators, to the verge of what history has termed the Rebellion of 1837. Papineau and Mackenzie were standing hand in hand at the parting of the roads, and, encouraged as the leaders of revolution in the United States had once been long before by the apparent support of some public men in Great Britain, they took the path marked out for them by the voice of vanity and the pleadings of prejudiced passion.

CHAPTER XI.

OUT OF REBELLION INTO UNION.

The period between 1837 and 1840 had been the stormiest time in the history of the Canadas. The troubles which developed into a futile and fugitive insurrectionary movement in the two Provinces hardly, however, deserved the name of rebellion. Heated as was the feeling in Lower Canada against the ruling English class and bitter as was the denunciation in Upper Canada of what was termed the oligarchy and family compact, the basis of real grievance or genuine oppression was never sufficiently strong to make a serious revolutionary attempt probable. Ignorant as the French population were regarding the peculiar workings of a British constitution which depends so much upon precedent and practical operation and so little upon theory and logic, and inflamed as they were in election contests or street riots by the speeches of demagogues, they yet knew enough of the discrepancy of forces between themselves and the British Empire to listen, attentively, though not very willingly, when the *mandement* issued in 1837 by Bishop Lartigue of Montreal advised them of the folly and sin of a

useless rebellion. And this despite the clever attempts of Papineau to pledge the co-operation of American democracy in an effort to make all North America republican in government. In Upper Canada the same fact applies with far greater force. The general population of that Province, whether Liberal or Tory, knew well enough that there was not sufficient reason for the employment of force and that in any case there was no hope of its successful use unless the United States joined in—and of such a possibility there was no proof.

But dissatisfaction, no matter how limited, makes a loud noise, although the blaze of enthusiasm which surrounded Papineau and made the banks of the St. Lawrence an apparent scene of general sedition; or the heated talk of Mackenzie in Upper Canada, with his Vigilance Committees and armed bodies of men; were evidences of popular excitement rather than of dangerous public discontent. Sir Francis Bond Head, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Upper Province, was in this respect a statesman where Lord Gosford in Lower Canada was a mere shadow of Imperial strength. The former is the most vigorously denounced man in Upper Canadian history. Yet it is only because circumstances have made him the embodiment of opposition to proposals which other days and other conditions have rendered practicable. One of the few Canadian writers who have fully appreciated his devoted loyalty and real services to the Empire * describes him as being "true

as steel and most staunch to British law and British principle in the trying days of his Administration," and as possessed of a loyalty which was both chivalrous and magnetic. He was quixotic, sometimes bombastic, and occasionally unwise. But he had first sized up a difficult situation and then carried an election which made loyalty a living power in a community which was allowing the small Radical and republican minority to overshadow by noise and violence both its Tory and Liberal elements. He then decided that the influence back of Mackenzie, in his more violent proposals, was small and not more than the local militia was quite capable of dealing with. In this conclusion events showed him thoroughly right, and, in his much discussed step of sending all the regular troops to the Lower Province to help the suppression of the more serious troubles there, he would seem to have acted the part of a statesman. The matter had to some time come to a head in his own Province, and, if the militia could cope with it, local loyalty would be stimulated, while possibly bitter memories of a rising crushed by British troops would be eliminated from the situation. He was criticised for being at last taken by surprise. So far as the march of the rebels upon Toronto was concerned there is little doubt that he was. But the suddenness of the movement was at

* Dr. Alpheus Todd, C.M.G., in *Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer*, by Samuel Thompson, Toronto, 1884, p. 136.

the last a surprise to Mackenzie himself. And the latter's incendiary speeches throughout the Province and the "Declaration of the Reformers of Toronto," published in his paper, *The Constitution,* supplied sufficient ground for the Lieut.-Governor's belief that there would be neither peace nor material progress in Upper Canada until the trouble had come to its inevitably violent end. So he had sent the troops out of the Province and calmly awaited events.

The *Declaration* was a curious document. Amongst the quietest of its terms were the "baneful domination" of Great Britain and "the mockery of human government," under which the people had been "insulted, injured and reduced to the brink of ruin." Grievances of a now generally admitted character were placed side by side with denunciations of a character intended evidently to compare with those of another and more famous "Declaration" issued by the one-time colonists to the south. It was of such a nature as to hardly require further description, though its blatant demagoguery had the useful effect of finally estranging Liberals like Baldwin and Ryerson from even nominal association with the extreme wing of their party. The process had been going on for some years, and this document was the last instrument in a general party disintegration. Meanwhile the rebellion had made some headway in Lower Canada, where Lord Gosford was at one moment writing the Colonial Secretary, Lord

Glenelg (September 2d, 1837), that "all hope of conciliation has passed away" and in the next refusing the offer of British inhabitants at Montreal to form a Royalist rifle corps. Unlike Sir Francis Bond Head, he had not a militia which was in the main loyal and to be depended upon, but he had the elements of it in the English part of the population. Moreover, he should have benefited by the example of the Royal Governors in the Thirteen Colonies, where the historic weakness of decision and rule had invariably bred aggressive action and rebel success. Had he shown energy and determination all Papineau's wonderful edifice of agitation would probably have collapsed, as did the rebellion itself when Sir John Colborne afterwards pricked its military bubble with the precision and power of a Peninsular veteran. And, though some kind of outbreak was probably inevitable, it might have been very much less threatening in appearance and earlier developments.

Dr. Wolfred Nelson, a Montreal physician of English birth and a Radical member in the Assembly, was Papineau's chief supporter. Dr. O'Callaghan, afterwards a well-known literary man of New York; Thomas Storrow Brown, a popular iron merchant and in later days a pamphleteer; Amury Girod and Dr. Chénier; were others. A. N. Morin and D. B. Viger, afterwards members of the Canadian Government in the days of Union; L. H. Lafontaine, destined to be Premier of the

United Provinces, Chief Justice of Lower Canada and a Baronet of the United Kingdom; George E. Cartier, afterwards Minister of Militia in the Dominon of Canada and also a Baronet; were amongst the earlier fathers and leaders of the movement which was now to culminate. The first blow was struck in Montreal, where members of the Doric Club, a British constitutional organisation, were publicly attacked on the streets by the "Sons of Liberty," as a young men's rebel society which had considerable footing in the city was called. During the 7th of November, repeated conflicts took place between these two factions, and finally the office of *The Vindicator,* a Papineau organ, was broken into and the presses and type destroyed or scattered. At night the troops paraded the streets and preserved some kind of order. Meanwhile the country along the Richelieu loomed up as the centre of serious disaffection. At St. Charles, on that river, a meeting had been held on the 23d of October composed of some thousands of people from the six counties along its banks, and thirteen fiery resolutions, with but one meaning, had been adopted under advice from Papineau and Nelson and inspired by the example of what were termed the "wise men and heroes of 1776" in the neighbouring republic. On the same day a very large Loyalist meeting had been held in Montreal. The troubles in that city, on November 7th following, precipitated matters.

Where outrages in the country parishes around

Montreal upon loyal citizens and the utter inability of magistrates to protect them did not succeed, this riot was at last effectual. Lord Gosford abandoned his supine policy and issued warrants nine days later for the arrest of Papineau, O'Callaghan, Brown and others. Near Longueuil, on the 18th November, however, a large body of rebels succeeded in rescuing two or three of the lesser leaders who had been arrested, and this may be considered as the real beginning of the insurrection. Papineau fled to St. Denis—a village on the Richelieu—where he stayed with Nelson and was surrounded by friends and followers. To arrest him an expedition was despatched by General Sir John Colborne, who now took matters in hand as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces. It was composed of 250 men and led by Colonel Gore. On November 23d, after a weary march of sixteen miles on a dark and stormy night, Gore unsuccessfully attacked a strong position held by Nelson and had to retire leaving six men dead on the field. Papineau left during the conflict and finally got away to the States. Meantime, Colonel Wetherall captured the neighbouring rebel position at St. Charles without much difficulty, and an American who was in command fled precipitately without much attention to the order of his going. At the news of this disaster Nelson's forces melted away like snow in springtime and the chagrined leader was himself captured as he tried to escape. A miserable incident of the moment was the murder of Lieuten-

ant Weir, a young officer carrying despatches between Montreal and Sorel, who was captured by some of Dr. Nelson's troops, and in making a dash for liberty was shot down and hacked to pieces by the rebels. The capture of St. Denis and St. Charles had, however, calmed this part of the country. Elsewhere, Sir John Colborne led a force of two thousand regulars and militia into the district north of Montreal, and at the village of St. Eustache, where some thousand men were entrenched, was compelled to storm the stone church of the parish in which Dr. Chénier and his followers made a mad but gallant defence. Not till the blazing roof was falling upon them and the walls around crushing them did the brave *habitants* seek to escape—the most of them in vain. Chénier was killed and a monument to his memory, nearly half a century later, was erected by sentimental sympathisers in one of the residential streets of Montreal. At St. Benoit a mob of unorganised rebels was found, but their leaders fled and they promptly surrendered after having done no greater harm than destroying the homes and harvests of some neighbouring English settlers. In revenge the latter burned a part of the village during the night.

For the moment the rising was crushed. It did not then or afterwards comprise any large proportion of the people. Papineau thought that they rested in the hollow of his hand, but he had found himself in a fool's paradise. The moderate element in the masses appreciated the difference between standing

behind an eloquent and magnetic leader in the constitutional defence of what they deemed the preservation and assertion of their racial character, and a rebel movement in favour of the subversion of their allegiance and the establishment of a form of government which had worked such havoc in France and which was now denounced so powerfully by their priests. With the Church stood the old Seigneurial families, while back of them was a large farming community which did not want civil war, though it knew little of constitutional matters and delighted, as all Frenchmen do, in agitation and effervescent eloquence. Even the French-Canadian militia, though distrusted, seems in many places to have been loyal, and Colonel de Hertel, in command of 1,500 men, assured Sir John Colborne of their positive loyalty and willingness to go into active service. In January, 1838, Lord Gosford was recalled and Sir John Colborne appointed Administrator. In February following the most important action in the early constitutional history of the country occurred in the selection of the Earl of Durham, as Governor-General and special High Commissioner of British America, to adjust existing difficulties in the Canadas. During the same month some six hundred fugitives and sympathisers crossed the frontier from Vermont under command of a brother of Dr. Nelson's, and with fieldpieces and arms to supply another hoped-for insurrection, but were driven back by some regulars and hastily gathered English

militia. In April the Lower Canadian constitution was suspended and a Special Council appointed by Sir John Colborne to take the place of the Legislature. It was composed of representative men of all classes and creeds such as De Léry, Stuart, McGill, Quesnel, Molson, Cuthbert and Knowlton. By May, however, the Province seemed to be quiet, martial law was abolished and the English-speaking militia allowed to return home.

The rebellion in Upper Canada was an equal fiasco. There was a great difference in conditions however. In the one case the large majority was actively loyal and there was no element of racial enmity. In the other the large majority was passively sullen, with racial considerations struggling against religious convictions and commands. The latter won. The centre of trouble in Upper Canada was around Toronto. Mackenzie's series of meetings throughout the Province had their natural effect, and by November drilling and rifle-shooting were being practised at sundry places and some fifteen hundred men had volunteered to take up arms. The military plan—if such it can be called —was to attack Toronto upon a certain date, capture the 4,000 stands of arms in the City Hall, together with the Lieutenant-Governor and leading people, and then to proclaim a Republic with Dr. Rolph—a man who had succeeded during this whole period in keeping upon good terms with both sides —as President. A mistake was made in the date

decided upon for marching on the city, and this increased the inevitable futility of the whole movement. On December 4th, three days before the time Mackenzie had arranged for, Rolph issued orders for the advance of eight hundred men who had meanwhile gathered at Montgomery's Tavern, a few miles outside of Toronto. They had been drilled for some time by Van Egmond, an old-time officer of Napoleon's, and were led by Samuel Lount, a blacksmith by occupation. Two unpleasant incidents had occurred. A City Alderman named Powell, who lived to be Mayor of Toronto, was captured, but escaped by shooting his guard. Colonel Moodie, a well-known settler and popular gentleman who had served with distinction in the British army, was shot dead while riding scornfully through the rebel lines. The news of the advance was soon received in the city and messengers despatched with all speed by the Lieut.-Governor to Colonel (afterwards Sir A. N.) McNab instructing him to bring up what were called in those days "the fighting men of Gore"—a township of which Hamilton is now the civic centre. The rebels marched until within half a mile of Toronto and then retreated in all haste in face of a picquet of twenty men who had fired at them and then retired. At Montgomery's they lay until December 7th, by which time the Governor and McNab were ready to turn the tables and attack the rebel position with some 500 militia. Sir Francis Bond Head had meantime, and for purposes

of delay, attempted to negotiate with Mackenzie through a curiously formed delegation composed of Rolph and Baldwin, but without success further than the staving off for some hours of the first rebel movement. Almost every one in Toronto had stood by the Government when the tidings came. The Chief Justice, the Judges, the Executive Council, the City officials and aldermen, all took up arms and surrounded the Governor with a support which was certainly strong in a moral, if not in a trained military, sense. Many of these prominent volunteers had, however, served in the War of 1812 and knew the smell of gunpowder full well. At the Tavern, or in its vicinity, when the Governor and McNab arrived with their force, were nearly a thousand rebels picturesquely armed in many cases with nothing better than scythes, axes or pitchforks. Sir Francis called on them to lay down their arms, but Mackenzie refused and the militia bravely advanced on the opposing lines. The exchange of volleys was hot for a short time, but the rebels were soon scattered and the battle over. The prisoners taken were in most cases pardoned and released, while for a short time the neighbourhood was patrolled by an eager and ready militia force to which volunteers came flocking in from the country districts in such numbers that the Governor did not know what to do with them. Mackenzie fled to his little stronghold of Navy Island, on the American side of Niagara River, whence—behind guns procured from the

State arsenals of New York—he issued a republican manifesto signed by himself and Lount, Fletcher, Lloyd, Van Egmond, Graham, Duncombe and others. The last named tried to get up a little insurrection in the London District, but as soon as he heard of Colonel McNab's approach with a militia force, retired to the common refuge at that time of Canadian malcontents—the United States. Rolph had left some time before for the same shelter.

Mackenzie in his Navy Island manifesto spoke boastingly of American help in saving Upper Canada from its position of "Egyptian thraldom," and declared that vast numbers of men from the States generally, together with arms, provisions, money and artillery from Buffalo, N.Y., were coming to support his standard of resistance against "the hired red-coats of Europe." In his hands was a steamer called The Caroline, moored upon the American side of the river, which fired constantly upon the Canadian shore. McNab, who with his militia was watching this little game of war, finally sent a band of marines and volunteers in rowboats to destroy the nuisance. They took the steamer from under the guns of a United States fort on December 27th, landed the crew and then sent her in flames over the Falls of Niagara. Soon afterwards Navy Island was deserted under the fire of heavy guns sent up by Sir John Colborne. Mackenzie was then arrested, tried and sentenced, on the American side, to eighteen months' imprisonment for attacking a friendly

nation. But organised attacks from the United States border continued. A threefold one had been planned from the Cities of Ogdensburg and Buffalo in New York and Detroit in the State of Michigan. The leaders quarrelled, however, and in the multitude of rebel and alien counsellors there was some relief to Canada which, even as it was, had to equip and maintain a force of four thousand militia along its frontiers. The rebel plans were mainly successful at this time in showing the most brazen-faced indifference along the border to all the international obligations of the Republic and in causing great trouble and expense to the Governments of Canada as well as worry to the peaceful settlers upon the Canadian frontier. Much of Mackenzie's success in getting men and armaments was through the "Hunter's Lodges" which had been openly organised throughout the border States for the purpose of attacking Canada and annoying England. On January 7th, 1838, about a thousand Americans and rebels took possession of the Canadian Island of Bois Blanc, in the Detroit River opposite Amherstburg, and a man named Sutherland assumed command, bringing with him from Cleveland a number of stands of arms, fieldpieces, etc. At Detroit a large schooner was publicly loaded with cannon and small arms from the State Arsenal and despatched to his aid. The vessel was attacked, however, by some Canadian militia and captured. Shortly afterwards Sutherland surrendered to the American authorities,

and was tried and acquitted. A little later, two thousand men under Van Rensaeller, who had already commanded at Navy Island, assembled at Quebec Creek, on the St. Lawrence, but finding that Kingston, on the opposite shore, was well prepared they eventually dispersed. Sutherland then made another attempt upon Amherstburg by taking possession of Pelee Island with a view to crossing over and capturing the Canadian town. But Colonel Maitland, with a force of regulars, was too quick for him, crosssed the river on the ice and attacked the marauders with a loss to them of thirteen killed, forty wounded and a number of prisoners. The British loss was two killed and twenty-eight wounded.

Meanwhile, events looked threatening upon the American side of the line in connection with the Maine boundary and in a far worse sense than the condonation of guerilla attacks. War seemed very possible, and Sir John Colborne, who in readiness, determination and energy was another Brock, soon had the frontier in as strong a state of defence as was practicable. Forts were strengthened, new fortifications arranged, large barracks built at London and considerable reinforcements received from England and distributed along the frontiers of the Upper Province. With 40,000 militia at the back of the regulars the country therefore stood in a condition of fair preparation for eventualities. In spite of all his rebuffs, however, and the strong position

of the Province, Mackenzie continued to do his best to injure it and, incidentally, to embroil two great nations in war. In May, one of his satellites with fifty men boarded the Sir Robert Peel—a well-equipped Canadian vessel—in the St. Lawrence at a point opposite Kingston, thrust the crew and passengers on shore and pillaged and burned the ship. Various minor outrages occurred along the borders at this time, but the Americans finally helped in suppressing them, and as summer advanced anxiety was allayed. In the autumn, however, news came of another intended series of attacks, and Sir George Arthur, who had succeeded Sir F. Bond Head on March 23d, at once called out part of the militia. The 10th of November was the date selected and three simultaneous attacks were to be made on Upper and Lower Canada. On that day, accordingly, the steamer United States left Oswego, N.Y., amid the cheers of a large crowd, and, after meeting some schooners with armed bands on board, landed 250 rebels at Windmill Point, near Prescott. They were promptly attacked by a local force of militia, and after some days of fighting and of waiting for the arrival of guns from Kingston, the marauders surrendered. Nine Canadians were killed and some forty-five wounded. Von Schultz, the rebel leader, was afterwards hung, and his trial is notable for being the first appearance in Canadian history of Sir John A. Macdonald, who, as a young lawyer, defended the prisoner.

On December 4th one more effort was made against Amherstburg. Some 450 rebels crossed from Detroit to Windsor, captured the small militia guard, burned a steamer at the wharf and some houses, murdered a negro who refused to join them, and marched out to Sandwich, two miles away. Meanwhile, the militiamen managed to escape, and in revenge the marauders murdered an army surgeon whom they happened to encounter. Shortly afterwards, however, they met their match in Colonel Prince, a veteran and well-known settler, a determined, old-fashioned Tory and member of the Legislative Council, a man whose reputation stands out clearly in the history of the period and now rises above the weak-kneed slanders and fears which followed his prompt action. He routed them with twenty-one rebels killed and one Canadian lost. Four of those who were captured he promptly hanged, and for this action the Colonel was widely criticised. But he little recked that sort of thing where duty seemed to demand action. And his course certainly struck terror into rebel hearts. Windsor had been strongly garrisoned, but as soon as he approached with his militia the invaders crossed over to Detroit, while some who fled into the woods were afterwards found frozen to death. This ended the troubles in Upper Canada. For the first rebel movement only two of those who had been captured were executed—Lount and Mathews. Every effort was made by the humbled party of discontent to

save them, but Sir George Arthur was a man of strong ideas and he believed it a duty to the State that the law should take its course. For this he stands under the shadow of much savage denunciation from those who since that time have imbibed or inherited the belief that Canadian liberties are based upon this puny and panicky revolt. When, in 1838, the second series of border movements were finally crushed less mercy was shown. Nine of those who accompanied Von Schultz—chiefly Americans—were executed at Kingston, three at London, and a large number of others were transported to British penal settlement.

In Lower Canada no executions whatever had taken place after the troubles of 1837. Lord Durham had come out with what he believed to be, and what should have been, almost absolute powers of conciliation and arbitration of grievances. He found a condition in which no French jury would have convicted the prisoners in hand, no English jury would have acquitted them, and no mixed jury have agreed. He did not wish to resort to military trials and thus accentuate the prevailing difficulties, but rather to restore social order and civil authority. Eventually, therefore, a proclamation had been issued on June 28th, 1838, pardoning minor offenders, banishing eight of the principal leaders to Bermuda and forbidding Papineau and others to return on penalty of death. The Imperial Parliament, influenced by Lord Brougham and other personal ene-

mies of the Governor-General, refused to endorse this action and declared it illegal. Lord Durham instantly resigned, returned home, and was succeeded by Sir John Colborne. These divided counsels amongst the rulers and the mistaken leniency shown the instigators and participators in the revolt had an effect the reverse of what was hoped for by Lord Durham. The ignorant peasantry continued in many places in the Lower Province to be led by agitators who worked in secret association with the bodies which were being formed in the neighbouring States; and the departure of Lord Durham on November 3d, 1838, was the signal for commencing a new rising in Lower as well as Upper Canada. On that date the steamer Henry Brougham was seized in the St. Lawrence by four hundred rebels, a man named Walker was killed near Laprairie, and the whole district surrounding Montreal was again in arms. Sir John Colborne, however, was not a man to be trifled with. Martial law was proclaimed, the Habeas Corpus Act suspended and the Montreal gaol speedily filled with prisoners. An attack was made upon Laprairie by some rebels, but it required little more than the unexpected war-whoop of a few loyal Indians, who left church in order to seize their arms and defend their homes, for this attempt to be quickly frustrated. Robert Nelson, meantime, crossed the border to Napierville with a band of marauders and was soon joined by some two thousand rebels. He at once issued a

"Declaration of Independence" based upon the "multiplied outrages and cruelties of the Government" and of that "mercenary army whose track is red with the blood of our people." It was signed by himself as President of the new Republic of Lower Canada and furnishes a fitting parallel to the similar document issued by Mackenzie in Upper Canada.

While Nelson established himself at Napierville, a rebel named Coté formed a depôt at a point some twenty miles away, and within American territory, for the purpose of receiving supplies, etc., from United States sympathisers. A movement made by the loyal militia of the district threatened, however, to cut off the communication between the two by an occupation of Lacolle Mill, and Dr. Coté accordingly advanced to attack that point. But he was routed and compelled to retire before he reached the Mill. On November 6th, Sir John Colborne marched for the front with four regiments of regulars and about 400 Indians and 500 militia, and was joined later by two regiments of Glengarry militia. With the victorious volunteers in his rear and this army in front, the self-installed President now found himself in rather a tight place. He had a thousand men in hand, and with them did the only thing possible; turning around and marching for Odelltown, which was held in his rear by some two hundred militia. The fight there centred in a Methodist Church, which the militia had occupied,

and was bravely conducted on both sides. But a small contingent of additional militia coming up, the rebels broke and fled, and Nelson was one of the first to make for the American border. The local disturbance was now quickly crushed and the loyal people of this particular county—who had been considerably insulted and harried by the rebels—now took their revenge despite the orders of Sir John Colborne, and many ruined homes and burned buildings consequently marked the path of this renewed attempt at rebellion. The Executive clemency of the past was not repeated. A large number of arrests were made and twelve men were convicted before courts-martial and duly executed. Of these, six were proven murderers and five had been included in Lord Durham's previous amnesty. A number of minor rebels were transported. Amongst the prisoners were Lafontaine and D. B. Viger. The former was soon released; the latter, though positively refusing to give security for good behaviour, was also eventually released without condition. It may be added here as a curious commentary upon what is called justice, that, while so many of the victims and dupes suffered in various ways, the leaders of this revolt were in time all forgiven and in most cases allowed to take an active part in public life. Papineau was amnestied in 1847 and Mackenzie two years later. Both afterwards sat in the Assembly of United Canada. Wolfred Nelson was twice Mayor of Montreal, and

Lafontaine, Viger, Cartier, Rolph and Morin all lived to be Ministers of the Crown.

Upon the grave of the struggle time has placed a mistaken monument, while the light of liberties since evolved has crowned it with a happy halo. But history, when freed from the bias of politics inevitable to the earlier literature of a young community, will do the subject more justice. Mackenzie in his later days honestly and bitterly regretted his share in the troubles, and there is no doubt that others did so in equal measure. Yet the feeling is very widespread that complete self-government in Canada was the result of this rebellion. The truth is that such conditions would have developed in any case, and probably earlier if the Imperial authorities could have felt assured of French-Canadian loyalty. Responsible government was not understood by the rebels and was naturally not favoured by the ruling party in either Province.

In lower Canada the struggle was really an effort to ensure the absolute dominance of the French element in a system where its leaders had already complete control of the Assembly and hoped to get similar power over the Council through the elective tenure proposal. In Upper Canada the Opposition, legitimately enough, wanted to rule the Province, and its leaders claimed, with truth, that the Government meted out the spoils of office to its own supporters and excluded others from fair participation

in land grants or positions. But this is to-day a cardinal principle of party life. Reforms and changes of different kinds were demanded. But they were too often asked by the voices of agitators and demagogues, disappointed seekers after official favours, or alien immigrants and settlers of a few years' residence. In the earlier days of the Province Government had to be centralised, and even up to the middle of the century Governors complained to the Colonial Office of the extreme difficulty of getting good men to fill public positions. The Imperial authorities made concession after concession. Legislation regarding the Church Establishment, the privileges of the Church of England, the severance of Judicial from Executive administration, the holding of conventions, the taxing of wild lands, are cases in point. Lord Durham's Report arose out of the rebellion, and upon it much subsequent legislation was based. But Lord Gosford's Commission had been appointed and reported before the insurrection took place, and when its conclusions were found to be inadequate another would have been appointed in any case. Once the Reform Bill and ensuing legislation became facts in England similar development in the Colonies was inevitable, and was retarded rather than hastened by the firebrands who stirred up embers of dissatisfaction into flames of civil strife. Responsible government did not come for years after the rebellion and the publication of the Durham Report, and it

came to the Maritime Provinces, where no rebellion had been dreamed of, at the same time that it was evolved in the Canadas. The fact is that, like every portion of the unwritten British constitution at home, this creation of self-government amid strange and new conditions in a distant dependency of the Empire, had to be a result of time and graded experience rather than of any sudden spring into successful operation. The little real knowledge which existed amongst the leaders of the malcontents regarding the full application of British institutions to this country, in the sense now understood, is seen by their final and absolute sympathy with republican principles. They were those actually favoured from the first by the leaders and tendencies of the violent minority, and the only pity is that so many good men and brave were carried away by the passions of the time into supporting a fallacious advocacy and a futile insurrection.

Meantime, the share taken by the Maritime Provinces in these events had been of a significant though not a serious character. They had the same institutions as Upper Canada, with a similar dominant class and similar difficulties in the working of their still crude and partially unformed systems. But instead of boasting secret revolutionary societies, armed uprisings and sought-for international raids, they remained absolutely loyal to the Crown and the Provincial Governments. The Assembly of New Brunswick even went so far as to declare in the

summer of 1837* that the House "should repudiate the claim set up by another Colony that the Executive Council ought at all times to be subject to removal on address for that purpose from the popular branch of the Government," although it added an expression of belief that the body in question "should be composed of persons possessing the confidence of the country at large and that the cordial sympathy and co-operation of that body are absolutely indispensable." In Nova Scotia, during the first forty years of the century, the Lieutenant-Governors had been Sir John Wentworth, sturdy in principle and practice; Sir George Prevost, mild and popular in administration and with qualities which suited a small arena but signally failed in a stormy one; Sir John Coape Sherbrooke and Lord Dalhousie, both men of marked ability and equal popularity; Sir James Kempt, Sir Peregrine Maitland and Sir Colin Campbell,† the latter of whom ruled during the days of the rebellion and afterwards passed through a period of bitter conflict with Joseph Howe. In New Brunswick there was a succession of military Lieutenant-Governors, from Colonel Thomas Carleton, who ruled in 1784–1803 and was a brother of Lord Dorchester, to Major-General Sir Howard Douglas, who was appointed in

* *Letters and Speeches of the Hon. Joseph Howe*, edited by William Annand, vol. 1, p. 143.

† Maj.-General Sir Colin Campbell (1776–1847), sometimes mistakenly referred to in Canadian historical works as the Lord Clyde of Indian fame.

1824 and stayed until 1831 amidst general popularity and appreciation of his efforts to advance the material interests of the Province. Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell and Major-General Sir John Harvey were his immediate successors. The latter acted from May, 1837, to April, 1841. As one of the heroes of the War of 1812 and a man of kindly and liberal views he made a very successful Administrator. During the Rebellion period Sir Charles Augustus Fitzroy, afterwards a well-known Australian Governor, presided over the affairs of little Prince Edward Island—June, 1837, to November, 1841.

Speaking on 12th December, 1837, Sir J. Harvey, in reply to an address of the people of St. John, publicly assured the Governor-in-Chief that not only was a large body of New Brunswick militia ready to co-operate in crushing the insurrection, but that he would be able and willing to place himself at its head. In a despatch to Sir John Colborne about the same date he added the declaration that: "I can depend upon the loyalty of the people of this Province to a man." On December 28th he addressed a special Session of the Legislature in strong terms, and the reply of the Assembly declared that if help was needed, and despite the rigours of the winter season, it would be available "while a man remains in these loyal Provinces able to take the field." On January 5th, 1838, an address of congratulation to the Lieutenant-Governor and militia

of Upper Canada was passed and £10,000 voted for any emergency which might arise. On the 25th of the same month Sir Colin Campbell addressed the Nova Scotian Legislature, and the Assembly promptly passed a resolution expressing its pride that "the constitutional force of the Upper Province has defeated the traitorous attempt to cast off British allegiance." These utterances show the standpoint of the people in the Maritime Provinces and are additionally significant at a time when the shadowing influence of border hostility was being felt in full measure as a result of the dispute over the Maine boundary. After this controversy had been simmering in bitterness for some time the Governor of Maine decided in 1839, at a moment when American cities bordering upon the other Provinces were also breathing threats and practising open hostility, that the opportunity had come to settle the question and seize the disputed territory. A conflict had take place in the wintry woods between some Maine and New Brunswick lumbermen and in territory which remained necessarily in British hands until the question of right was settled. Governor Fairfield of Maine thought, however, that the arbitrament of war would be a better way of deciding the issue than arbitration or negotiation, and therefore maintained his lumbermen in provisions, captured the British Warden of the disputed region, and carried him to Augusta. Sir John Harvey sent 1,800 militiamen to hold the Aroostook River

country; Fairfield issued a call for 10,000 State troops to take the whole territory; Sir John sent up two regiments of the line with artillery and volunteers to support the militia in their position; Nova Scotia voted all her militia and £100,000 in money to help New Brunswick; Upper Canada sent offers of aid; and the troops, people and militia of the Maritime Provinces were as full of fight as was the Governor of Maine. And the clamour was not confined to these regions. Daniel Webster almost stampeded his Government into war with Great Britain over this and other matters—the chief and real reason being that at last the Canadas were deemed ready for annexation. Fortunately President Van Buren was calm, held the dogs of war in leash, and sent General Winfield Scott to the scene of trouble. The matter was then settled, for the moment, by the two officers who had fought and learned to respect each other at Lundy's Lane and Stony Creek. A little later Webster won a bloodless victory over Lord Ashburton, and the Rebellion of 1837 must be recorded as having, amongst its other ill effects, first encouraged the hostile action of Maine and then caused the British Government to weaken visibly in its negotiations with Washington upon this question. Why, as many in Great Britain no doubt suggested, fight the serried masses of American democracy for Colonies which are striving to adopt republican institutions or, in many individual cases, American allegiance? To some extent the

loyalty of the Maritime Provinces answered this naturally prominent query.

Out of Lord Durham's famous Report came the Union of Upper and Lower Canada. It was not in response to any express desire of the rebel element or from motives of conciliation. It was in direct antagonism to the fondest aspirations and avowed wishes of the French-Canadian population and was not even favoured by the Tory majority in Upper Canada. But the occasion made it possible, and Lord Sydenham, who succeeded Sir John Colborne in October, 1839, was a statesman sufficiently wise and able to carry out the dictum of Lord Durham. During his brief six months' Administration the latter had studied the situation in all the Provinces; had done much energetic travelling and made numerous personal inquiries; had employed able agents, of whom the members of his own Executive Council —which had replaced Sir John Colborne's Special Council and was composed chiefly of Englishmen— were the chief, and notably Mr. Charles Buller; had kept himself aloof from all social cliques and political parties; and had met in Conference the Lieutenant-Governors of the different Provinces. Lord Durham's ensuing Report was dated January 31st, 1839, and is one of the most memorable documents in Imperial history. It was presented to Parliament and in May reached Canada, where its conclusions and the policy based upon them worked a practical revolution in the relation and constitu-

tions of all the Provinces. A little more than a year afterwards the sensitive, patriotic and brilliant nobleman who had penned its pages was dead—partly perhaps from the disappointment of a high-strung nature and partly from a constitutional feebleness of frame which was, no doubt, seriously affected by the nine months of labour during which he had studied and governed the storm-tossed Provinces, written seventy important despatches and completed his thorough, voluminous and systematic statement. He described in his Report the material backwardness of the Canadas; the conditions by which the ruling party successfully met and checked the popular Assemblies through its control of the Legislative Councils; and the indefinite nature of the demands which were made in some quarters for what was called "responsible government"—something which its own advocates did not understand. He dealt at length with the desire of American settlers in the country to assimilate its institutions with those of the United States and the following reference * to the existing state of the Colonists in their relation with the neighbouring Republic is most eloquently interesting:

"The influence of the United States surrounds him on every side and is for ever present. It extends itself as population and intercourse increases; it penetrates every portion of the continent into

* Lord Durham's *Report*, pp. 111–112.

which the restless spirit of American speculation impels the settler or the trader; it is felt in all the transactions of commerce from the important operations of the monetary system down to the minor details of ordinary traffic; it stamps on all the habits and opinions of the surrounding countries the common characteristics of the American people. . . . If we wish to prevent the extension of this influence it can only be done by raising up for the North American Colonist some nationality of his own; by elevating these small and unimportant communities into a society having some objects of a national importance; and by thus giving their inhabitants a country which they will be unwilling to see absorbed into one even more powerful."

There was naturally a good deal of criticism of the Report. Sir George Arthur wrote Lord Normanby, the Colonial Secretary, that "on many important points he (Lord Durham) has been much misinformed" and in a later despatch he adds that "a considerable section of persons who are disloyal to the core" are extravagantly elated because of its terms.* Both Houses of the Upper Canadian Legislature protested against its assertions, and Chief Justice Robinson urged vigorously, in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, that "the injurious tendency of the Report" should be counteracted in every possible way. And, with the sincere enthu-

* Despatches quoted by Sir Francis Bond Head, in "An Address to the House of Lords," London, 1840.

siasm of his old-fashioned principles, he denounced it by pen and voice, both in Canada and in England. Sir Peregrine Maitland, with many years' experience in Nova Scotia and Upper Canada, declared on August 19th, 1839, that "it gives an inaccurate and unfair description of the Province and people of Upper Canada." Nevertheless it was a great and statesmanlike document. Mistakes there were, of course, but its advice has upon the whole been followed, its prophecies in the main fulfilled, its historical statements generally, though not invariably, accepted. The chief recommendation of Lord Durham—after his advocacy and description of responsible government, the establishment of municipal institutions and the building of a railway which should connect the various Provinces—was the union of Upper and Lower Canada and the consequent submersion of French national ideas, and certain republican tendencies of the Upper Province, in a system which would be dependent upon the popular vote of the whole mixed community and be influenced, it was hoped, by other than sectional divisions and limitations. On March 23d, 1839, the Upper Canadian Assembly carried resolutions proclaiming the Provincial separation of 1791 to have been unwise, declaring an united Legislature to be now indispensable and appointing agents to go to England to arrange the terms of union. The Council rejected the resolutions, and nothing definite followed

until the arrival of the Right Hon. Charles Poulett Thomson—afterwards Lord Sydenham—as Governor-General. His appointment dated from October, 1839, and he came out with the reputation of being a strong Liberal and a good sound business man who had made a reasonable success of his position as President of the Board of Trade. He was hardly given credit, however, for the astute statesmanship which soon carried everything before it.

Upon his arrival he laid the plan of union, as proposed by the Imperial authorities, before the Special Council of Lower Canada—which had been revived with a membership similar to that of Sir John Colborne's—and it was accepted with only three dissentients. In the Upper Province the situation was more difficult than in one where the whole French population could, and had to be, ignored. Upper Canada was in the governing hands of a Tory party intrenched behind additional power and actual popularity won by the crushing of an insurrection through the unaided action of a militia composed largely of its own members. And its leaders were well known and honest opponents of the main political principle practically pledged by the proposed constitution—that of the responsibility of the Executive. But the heads of the so-called "Family Compact"—a phrase declared by Lord Durham to be inaccurate—were more patriotic than they had been given credit for by their opponents. The heavy debt of the Province, its practical bankruptcy in

regard to revenue and expenditure, the stagnation of trade and industry, the emigration out of the country rather than into it, the general feeling of uneasiness and discontent, made it seem necessary to sacrifice their intrenched position, to accept arrangements with Lower Canada, and to trust the principles of loyalty and conservatism which they cherished to the new constitution—even though it threatened to give the decision into the hands of a section of the population whose one-time leaders had been scattered by the results of a rash appeal to arms.

Mr. Poulett Thomson also appealed to the Executive and Legislative Councils on the ground of the strong wishes of the British Government and the necessity for strengthening the country against possible American aggression. He finally prevailed and resolutions were passed by the Legislature favouring an union based upon equal Provincial representation, the granting of a sufficient and permanent Civil List and the assumption of the Upper Canadian debt by the united Provinces. A measure embodying these principles passed the Imperial Parliament in July, 1840, and came into effect by proclamation of the Governor-General (now Lord Sydenham) on February 10th, 1841. By its terms the Legislature of the united Provinces consisted of the Queen, or her Representative, a Legislative Council of twenty members appointed by the Crown, and an Assembly of eighty-four members elected

equally by the two Provinces. The Executive Council was to be composed of eight members chosen by the Governor-General from both Houses. Those selected from the Assembly were to return to their constituencies for election as in the Ministries of the Mother-land. In this, and the arrangement that bills for the expenditure of money must originate with the Government, are to be seen the first practical steps in the direction of responsible government. A Civil List of £75,000 for the payment of officials, Judges, etc., was permanently established. Thus equipped, a new constitutional start was made and every power given by the Imperial authorities for the working out of a full, free and flexible form of government in the United Provinces.

PART TWO.

THE FORMATION OF A DOMINION, 1841–1867.

CHAPTER XII.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND ITS RESULTS.

During the first forty years of the century the Canadas had seen public discussion develop into open disaffection; during the next twenty-five years they were to see Parliamentary discussion and dispute develop into deadlock. And yet both these processes were in the end serviceable to the best interests of the people. The first helped to create the Union of 1841 and gave an opportunity for the French and English people to mix and mould their politics along other than racial lines. The second helped to evolve a wider and greater union out of the apparent constitutional collapse of the smaller one. But it does not follow because good happened to come out of these evils that the same ends might not have been more wisely and beneficially achieved by the cultivation of harmony rather than discord, of peace rather than strife. During the first and

formative period discussion and heated controversy had evolved a mimic civil war, and out of these conditions arose Provincial union and free and popular government. It was not, however, the armed strife which brought about responsible government—it was the previous discussions, and their resumption with greater understanding in the years following the rebellion. So it was that the deadlock in the functions of government which appears superficially to have so largely caused the confederation of all the Colonies in 1867—although undoubtedly an important factor in making politicians turn their attention to any means of possible escape from existing difficulties which might present itself—was yet not the chief cause of the greater union. Even in this case, however, the practical failure in the Canadas of that responsible government, which had been so earnestly fought for, carried with it many important reforms and the seeds of a constant discussion which must necessarily have enlarged the scope of political thought as it eventually helped, at least, to enlarge the field of political action.

The Colonies of British America were now to try a new form of government. Under early Governors like Wentworth, Simcoe and Dorchester they had experienced absolute monarchy in its simplest and best application. During the first part of the nineteenth century they had been ruled under the aristocratic system of a limited and comparatively mild oligarchy. Now they were to evolve a pure

democracy under monarchical forms. The conditions were not very favourable. When Lord Sydenham met the united Parliament at Kingston in June, 1841, he found a French-Canadian feeling that the Union was intended to kill the French nationality,* and amongst many of the Tory and Loyalist leaders the belief, expressed in 1836 by the Toronto City Council, that "it would be fatal to the connection of these Provinces with the Mother Country." The carrying out of the Imperial desire to develop ministerial responsibility he found hampered by the belief that—as Lord Durham put it in his Report—many of the Reform or Liberal leaders "wished to assimilate the institutions of the Province to those of the United States." He faced a situation in Upper Canada where nearly all of the Judges were strong Tories and the juries very often rabid Radicals. There was everywhere a lack of College education and of good elementary training. Progress was hampered by efforts to exclude English professional men—physicians, lawyers, etc.—from practising in the Provinces. Political feeling, of course, ran high, and the Orangemen in Upper Canada, who were increasing in numbers through immigration from the North of Ireland, had no liking for the new alliance with French and Catholic Canada, while the latter population fully agreed with a clause regarding Orangeism contained in a Roman Catholic address

* Garneau, vol. 3, p. 402.

to Lord Durham, in which that nobleman was politely asked to "put down this increasing abomination." Lord Sydenham was himself a Liberal, and was acting under instructions from Lord John Russell, and a new complication was thus introduced into the situation by his political aversion to the still dominant party in the Canadas.

The word had now practically gone out that responsible government was to be established in British America. There were, however, withdrawals from that decision, there was hesitancy in its application by Governors, there were differences in definition by changing Colonial Secretaries. People generally did not know what it really meant, and this Lord Sydenham himself clearly states in a letter dated Toronto, November 20th, 1839. It is even a question as to how far he went in favouring the application of the principle itself. The Tory position in these years and in all the Provinces had been thoroughly consistent, and despite any and every fault charged to their account the fact stands out clearly that they were the British party in the country and that their loyalty was a merit in those tempestuous times which should redound to their lasting credit. No stronger proof of this could have been given—not even frequent service in the field—than their acceptance of the Union with its avowed probabilities of their own overthrow, mainly because it was the wish of the British Government. They had been consistent in opposing complete

popular government, not only from their own natural and inherited standpoint of dislike to a democracy which to them spelled American principles and practices, but because their own policy had frequently appeared to realise the wishes of the Imperial authorities. As late as July, 1837,* the Colonial Office had taken a strong position in this connection. In response to an Address to the Crown from the Assembly of Nova Scotia, wherein "the language would seem to indicate an opinion, which is not yet distinctly propounded, that the Assembly ought to exercise over the public officers of that Colony a control corresponding with that which is exercised over the Ministers of the Crown by the House of Commons," it was announced that "to any such demand Her Majesty's Government must oppose a respectful, but at the same time a firm declaration that it is inconsistent with a due advertence to the essential distinctions between a metropolitan and a Colonial Government and is, further, inadmissible."

When the same party found itself face to face at times with a situation in which their cherished principles were attacked with the apparent support of the Imperial Government, they found relief and comfort in the different interpretations which could be honestly given to Imperial despatches and in the

* Despatch from Lord Glenelg to Sir Colin Campbell, July 6th, 1837.

somewhat chaotic condition of Liberal views upon the application of the principle. And the difficult and seemingly insuperable obstacle remained now, through all the practical experiments in responsible government, as it had appeared in the early and shadowy speculations concerning its possibilities, of how to combine the Imperial functions of the Queen's Representative with his Colonial position. Upon this point both parties held strong convictions and presented strong arguments. In the new Province of Canada Lord Sydenham might have done what was left for Lord Elgin to achieve at a later period—created a working system which would have harmonised some of these conflicting interests and aspirations. He had the ability and the necessary qualities, but fate removed him by an accidental fall from his horse in the autumn of 1841 before he could do more than meet the Legislature and forward the introduction of a municipal system and the regulation of the currency and the customs; while urging the extension of canals and the establishment of an efficient common school system. His successor was Sir Charles Bagot, an experienced diplomatist and formerly British Minister at Washington. He held the post until March, 1843, and signalised his administration by calling Louis Hypolite Lafontaine, the Liberal leader from Lower Canada, Robert Baldwin, the Liberal leader from Upper Canada, and Francis Hincks, another Reformer or Liberal, to the Executive Council or, as

it was now beginning to be termed, the Ministry. But there was still no Prime Minister and no Cabinet selected by, and personally responsible to, one political leader. There was a crude attempt at it, and later on the Attorneys-General of Canada West and Canada East * were supposed to be equal in position and to have the right to choose their own followers for the Government upon a basis which changed continuously and was the subject of much inter-party controversy.

Now came a crucial issue. It was pretty well recognised in theory that the Executive Council in its general policy must be dependent upon and guided by the majority in the Assembly, though there were many loopholes of escape from this responsibility and many deviations from it. And the Liberals were wise and consistent in doing their utmost to press the advantage which this recognition gave them. But they soon found, on partially obtaining office, that the control of patronage was not in their hands and that the Governor-General—Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had succeeded Sir Charles Bagot—was determined not to give it up to them. And in this decision he had the approval of the Colonial Office. Sir Charles was a somewhat old-fashioned statesman of high personal honour and with a past reputation for Liberal views. But in

* After the Union of 1841 Lower Canada was called Canada East and Upper Canada Canada West. After Confederation the former became Quebec and the latter Ontario.

Canadian matters he had lofty ideals regarding his own duty and the necessity for preserving the prerogative of the Crown in what seemed to him and his numerous followers the last important strand in the silken chain of British union. He therefore made sundry appointments without asking the advice of his Executive, and Baldwin and Lafontaine promptly resigned. A general election took place, the Tories, or Conservatives as they now termed themselves, naturally took the Governor's side, and Sir Charles was sustained. Although the Liberals were right in their contention as self-government was afterwards worked out, it was not yet understood how the Governor-General could be deprived of all power over appointments without weakening his authority in such a measure as to destroy the Colonial *prestige* of the Crown.

William Henry Draper, the Conservative leader and a man of silvery eloquence who held the personal respect of all shades of political thought and who had for a short time led the first Ministry of the new Province, formed a Government—if it could yet be called by that name. There was no difficulty about appointments now, because those made by the Governor-General, even if he did not ask advice, were likely to be acceptable in the nature of things. He and his Ministers had much the same principles, and no question of fitness from the standpoint of loyalty could arise between them regarding positions thus filled. It was naturally otherwise

with men who had been mixed up with the rebel leaders and the insurrectionary movements, although the impartial historian can find much to praise in the character and policy of the two chief Liberal leaders of this period. Baldwin was noted for his prudence and common sense, and for a conscientiousness which almost unfitted him for public life. His integrity has never been doubted, and his name still stands in Canadian political history as a synonym for honour and honesty. His ability as a statesman, however, was greater than his skill as a politician, and during these years he was largely instrumental in founding the local and municipal institutions of Upper Canada and in constituting, or remodelling, the Courts of the Province. Lafontaine was a man of striking appearance, with a square Napoleonic face and massive brow, conservative in character and sometimes in policy. It is hard to understand from his later career how he could have been such a sincere and enthusiastic follower of Papineau's, and the only possible explanation is in the fiery spirit of vigorous youth. Of him Baldwin spoke in January, 1844, as a man whom he had found "so clear in his perception of right, so prompt in his assertion of it, and so stern in the condemnation of arts of low and party intrigue," that he deemed it a comfort to have such a guide and a glory to have such a leader. Making every allowance for the party feeling and personal sentiment in such an utterance, there was much of

truth in it. The marvel is that with men of this type in command there should have been such extreme and inexcusable bitterness in party warfare.

The attacks upon Sir Charles Metcalfe during this period were so violent as to be brutal and beyond defence, unless it be found in the heated nature of public feeling after the incidents of insurrection. In the same way it is impossible to do anything but condemn the Conservative fury of a later date at the Rebellion Losses Bill. Yet the leaders of that party were also men of high character. Draper has already been referred to. Sir Allan McNab was a handsome, hearty, courageous and vigorous personage whom nothing daunted and who lived to the full every moment of his life, and felt in every nerve and fibre of his body an intense loyalty to the British connection for which he had often fought and which he believed to be endangered by the advance of reform. He was a Tory of the olden times transported to a scene of struggling modern democracy. Robert Baldwin Sullivan was the most brilliant of the politicians of this period. As an orator he had no equal in the House, and possessed a knowledge as varied and interesting as his powers of expression were vivid and entertaining. But his reputation for inconsistency proved an obstacle to his attainment of high political power. Dominick Daly, long afterwards Governor of Prince Edward Island and one of the Australian Colonies, and

knighted for his general services, was a man who cared nothing for popular government and deemed his whole duty to lie in serving the Queen's Representative faithfully and fully in any position he might be asked to fill. He was "the permanent Secretary, the Vicar of Bray of Canadian politics." Yet there is no reason to doubt his honour and the honesty of his sentiments. He always stood by the Governor-General and knew that in doing so he aroused at times the most bitter hostility. Colonel (afterwards Sir) Etienne Pascal Taché was the Conservative leader in Lower Canada and a gentleman of the best Seigneurial type. Others during this and following years who came to the surface of the stormy sea of politics were Francis Hincks (a moderate Liberal of great ability who early obtained a high financial reputation and was always a fluent and incisive speaker), John Sandfield Macdonald, D. B. Viger, A. N. Morin, Etienne Parent, T. C. Aylwin, John Neilson, William Hamilton Merritt, Malcolm Cameron, Isaac Buchanan, James Morris, R. E. Caron, Alexander Morris, Ogle R. Gowan (the Orange leader), J. E. Cauchon, P. J. O. Chauveau, L. T. Drummond, Henry Sherwood, and, last and greatest of all, John A. Macdonald and George Brown.

Sir Charles Metcalfe—who was raised to the peerage in January, 1845—fought sternly and steadily his battle with those whom he thought enemies of the Queen's prerogative, and at the same

time silently struggled with the painful death which was surely coming to him from a cancer in the cheek. There is no more mournful picture in Canadian history than is afforded by the spectacle of this indomitable and conscientious Governor fighting the most bitter opposition and extreme and continuous suffering in what he deemed to be the cause of the Crown. Fnally he was conquered by nature, though not by man, and went home to die. For a couple of years General the Earl of Cathcart took his place and carried on his policy as Governor-General, and in January, 1847, was succeeded by the Earl of Elgin. The latter found a problem which for the moment overshadowed even the evolution of responsible government through its progressively complex stages. About £40,000 had been voted by the Assembly, under Conservative guidance, to compensate loyal persons in Upper Canada who had suffered during the Rebellion. The Lower Canadian representatives had at once demanded a similar grant, and a Commission of Inquiry had declared that while the total claims amounted to a quarter of a million, yet £100,000 would cover the real losses. The Draper Government awarded £10,000, which the French-Canadians naturally resented as an insult, especially as they were still without adequate representation in the Government and were lumped in the popular mind of the Upper Province as having all been rebels together. Feeling became very bitter and once more the racial element threatened to domi-

nate affairs. A firm, judicious and skilful hand was indeed required, and in Lord Elgin's the iron and velvet were happily combined. In the year after his arrival general elections were held of an exceedingly stormy character and the Conservatives were defeated. Draper accepted the situation, resigned his office and was succeeded by Baldwin and Lafontaine. Full French representation was given in the new Ministry, the principle of responsibility to the Assembly was fully and finally decided, and Lord Elgin also accepted the Liberal view of appointments to office. This ended the struggle for complete self-government, and it remained now for the Province of Canada to apply and practise the principle.

The same year saw similar conditions prevail in the other Provinces. In New Brunswick, however, the central question for years had been the boundary issue with Maine. It was settled in 1842 by the wretched Ashburton Treaty, in which Daniel Webster so signally over-reached the indifferent Englishman and effected a compromise by which 7,000 square miles went to the State of Maine and 5,000 to New Brunswick. During this period the question of responsible government was not very seriously discussed. The differing views expressed by Lord John Russell and Lord Glenelg, as Colonial Secretaries, had befogged the public mind, and, in any case, the administration of Sir John Harvey was so acceptable that no one worried very much

over constitutional theories. The Assembly in 1839 even threw out a motion asking for responsible government. Sir John was succeeded by Sir William Colebrooke, and in the general elections of 1842, as a result of stagnation in the lumber trade, a scourge of fire in St. John and a deficit between revenue and expenditure, the Liberals in the Province had a still harder time of it. The succeeding Assembly represented what was really the overwhelming conservatism of a people who did not want change of any sort, and had a feeling that some of their present troubles were due to the previous and partial realisation of Liberal efforts. The new Assembly in fact passed a congratulatory address to Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Governor-General, upon a despatch which he had forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor, and in which he claimed the right of the Crown, through its representatives, to make appointments and to recommend a reconstruction of the Legislative Council so that all political parties and religious denominations should be represented in it. An interesting event, typical of the quietness of New Brunswick politics, was the death in 1844 of William Odell, who had held the position of Provincial Secretary since 1818, when he succeeded his father—the first and pioneer occupant of the position. Incidentally, a conflict occurred over this vacancy, which the Governor rather rashly filled by the appointment of his son-in-law. All parties objected to the appointment on the ground of Mr.

Reade being a non-resident with, as yet, no stake in the Province. Of the various political leaders, however, only L. A. Wilmot took the high ground of Canadian Liberals and claimed this as a good opportunity for the introduction of responsible government. The Governor did not press the matter and the position was finally given to a local man. Nothing important then occurred until 1847, when a despatch was received from Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary, addressed to the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces and clearly defining the principles of responsible government. Coming from the Imperial authorities this settled the matter, and in the session of 1848, on motion of Charles Fisher, who had for years supported the policy, both parties agreed by a large majority vote that the principles of Lord Grey's despatch should be applied to New Brunswick as well as Nova Scotia. There was no further trouble upon this point. Sir Edmund Head became Lieutenant-Governor in the same year and administered the system with discretion and success until 1854.

Meanwhile, Nova Scotia had gone through an ordeal of fierce and fiery discussion. Lord John Russell's despatch of 1839 regarding the tenure of public officers, in which he mildly intimated that they should no longer hold positions upon an absolute life tenure but be liable, as was the Lieutenant-Governor, to removal, had been enthusiastically greeted by the Provincial Liberals. In reality it

meant little, and, as Sir Colin Campbell, a staunch believer in prerogative, really believed, it still left matters largely in the Governor's hands. But Joseph Howe did not so regard it, and he soon made the walls of the Assembly and the free air of the Province ring with eloquent denunciation of the non-responsible system. In resolutions presented to the House in 1840, and adopted by a vote of thirty to twelve, he declared that for many years the progress of the Province had been retarded by want of harmony between the different branches of the Government, and that the Executive Council not only did not enjoy the confidence of the country but had wielded powers and patronage in order to hamper the efforts made by the Assembly to purify Provincial administration and institutions. Sir Colin sturdily refused to take any action and was soon afterwards recalled—presumably by the advice of the Governor-General (Mr. Poulett Thomson) who about this time paid Halifax a visit and had sundry discussions with Howe and others. Viscount Falkland came out in October and tried conciliation by adding Howe and some other Liberals to the Tory element in the Executive Council. Elections followed with the Liberals still in a majority in the Assembly. The coalition Executive did not last long. Johnston, the Tory leader, favoured denominational colleges and schools, with Government grants, and he and his friends did not accept the principle of responsibility to the Assembly. Howe

favoured free common schools, one Provincial University and complete responsible government. The three Liberals resigned early in 1844 from the Executive, and the ensuing elections resulted in a small Tory majority. The Governor and the Liberals were once more in open antagonism, and Howe again commenced the style of campaign he had conducted against Sir Colin Campbell.

To say that these campaigns were brilliant and bitter is to very haltingly describe two of the most extraordinary episodes in all political struggle. By innumerable newspaper articles, speeches which read like eloquent essays, and long letters to Colonial Secretaries and English statesmen, Howe, with Junius-like cleverness and the most vitriolic intensity, pilloried these two unfortunate Governors. His sarcasm and the cutting force of his criticism have seldom been equalled, and had he lived in a wider sphere, or in days of later publicity, his name and writings would have been the talk of empires. As it was, Sir Colin Campbell, an old-fashioned gentleman of military strictness in his ideas of honour and ideals of government, went under, and Lord Falkland, despite the approval of Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, was also compelled to accept recall, and in August, 1846, he was succeeded by the invariably successful Sir John Harvey. Great as was the ability of Howe, his popular power in the Province had, however, somewhat turned his head. He should have been more just to a Governor

who in the case of Falkland actually had a majority in the Assembly itself. But no better illustration of the difficulties encountered at this time by the Queen's Representatives in all the Provinces can be found than in these violent personal attacks. If responsible government means anything it implies not only the responsibility of the Ministry to Parliament but the irresponsibility of the Governor to any one except the Sovereign-in-Council. But, instead of confining his criticism to the Ministers, Howe followed the earlier example of Papineau and Mackenzie, and directed the force of an almost unequalled invective against the Queen's Representative—in the teeth of his own statement declaring in a famous letter to Lord J. Russell, that such a personage was properly "the fountain of honour, of justice and of mercy: he must offer no insult and should have no enemies." In the autumn of 1847, general elections were held, and this time the Liberals were successful. Meanwhile Lord Grey's despatch had come, and in January, 1848, after a formal vote of want of confidence in the Executive had been carried in the Assembly, John Boyle Uniacke was sent for and formed a Liberal Ministry composed of such veterans as Howe, Tobin, Huntington, Des Barres, O'Connor Doyle and George R. Young.

The history of Prince Edward Island in this connection is more important from its assertion of a principle than because of the magnitude of interests

involved in a tiny territory with some sixty thousand of a population. But none the less had Governor followed Governor, and all the paraphernalia of Queen's Representative and Executive, Legislative Council and Assembly, been established and maintained. In 1835, under the Governorship of Sir Aretus W. Young, a dispute about supplies occurred between the Council and Assembly, and in the following year Sir John Harvey came as Governor. In 1837 he was succeeded by Sir C. A. Fitzroy, who soon found that the real trouble in the Island was the absentee proprietary of its land. These Proprietors, sitting in London, drained the settlers of their profits or ejected them if they refused to pay the rents fixed. They were not subject to local taxation except very slightly—£7,000 in twelve years out of £107,000. The new Governor advised the Proprietors to sell out to the tenants, the Assembly passed a law assessing their lands, Lord Durham wrote very strongly to Lord Glenelg upon the subject and, finally, the taxing legislation was accepted in London. In 1839 the Executive and Legislative Councils were separated and the Chief Justice retired from the latter. Sir Henry Vere Huntley became Governor two years later and was succeeded in 1847 by Sir Donald Campbell. During this year a series of resolutions in favour of responsible government were passed and put in the form of a petition to the Queen. Lord Grey's reason for its refusal was the natural one of a lack of popula-

tion. But he offered the control of the revenues to the Assembly provided a sufficient Civil List was granted—excluding the Governor's salary of £5,000, which the Imperial Government would pay. A general election was therefore held, the new House met in March, 1850, and pressed the issue more strongly. It in fact refused supplies until the right to change or control the Executive was accorded. Finally, in response to an able report from Sir D. Campbell upon the condition, resources and prospects of the Island, Lord Grey decided to grant the demand. The Governor died before the news arrived, and his successor, Sir Alexander Bannerman, announced it to the Legislature in March, 1851. A Ministry was at once formed consisting of George Coles, Charles Young and other politicians, and responsible government was in one more case a fact.

The Province of Canada in the sixteen years following 1848 and the formation of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry, presented a curious picture of political progress and political failure. The principle of responsible government was fully in force and its first result was a new Rebellion Losses Bill and racial conflict; its last result was Legislative deadlock. Yet, in between these conditions was a period marked, it is true, by continuous party conflict and bitter controversy, but marked also by important reforms, the rise of a new school of statesmen, and the coming to the top of one of those domi-

nant minds which occasionally in the world's history stamps the seal of genius upon national affairs. Early in the Session of 1848 M. Lafontaine introduced his measure indemnifying the French-Canadian sufferers by the rebellion to the extent of £100,000. No amount of clever concealment could avoid the popular perception of the fact that it indemnified the disloyal as well as the loyal—the great majority of sufferers being undoubtedly sympathisers with the insurrection, if not active participants. The Bill provided that no one convicted of high treason, "said to have been committed" in Lower Canada, should be remunerated, but this covered a very small proportion of those who admittedly took part in the insurrection. However, the measure passed both Houses and then awaited, for a while, the signature of the Governor-General.

Seldom, or never, in Canadian history has such feeling been raised amongst its English population. This proposal to reward rebellion, as it seemed to the excited Loyalists, set the Upper Province and the Tories everywhere in a blaze of indignation. The Bill was declared to be the price paid by Baldwin and his friends in Upper Canada for the support of the French Liberals, and therefore the cry of French domination and the feeling of racial rivalry were added to the bitterness which the picture of public taxation for an indemnity to would-be or actual rebels had aroused. The immediate results were the formation of the British North American

League by men like George Moffatt, Asa H. Burnham, John A. Macdonald, Ogle R. Gowan, P. M. Van Konghnet and J. W. Gamble, with a wide federal union as part of its platform; stormy meetings all over the two Provinces and a riot in Toronto; violent protests from the entire Conservative community of Upper Canada—a decided majority upon such a question as this; and tremendous exertions to persuade Lord Elgin to veto the Bill or else suspend it for Imperial decision. But His Excellency had no idea of doing anything except take the advice of his Ministers according to the new principle of responsibility, and he accordingly signed the measure on the 25th of April. The legislation was wrong, the principle involved was dangerous and not very loyal, the exercise of the veto power would have been immensely popular amongst the English-speaking population. Such action, however, would have fatally antagonised the French at the very beginning of this new experiment in popular government, while the policy adopted really did much to soothe their suspicions and develop their loyalty. Lord Elgin himself was mobbed in Montreal as he came away from giving his assent to the Bill, and the Parliament Buildings were burned by a gathering in which irrepressible excitement caused irreparable crime and reflected disgrace upon a party hitherto famed for its loyalty and the dignity of its leaders. The House should, perhaps, have accepted the warning of Sir Allan McNab and called

for military support, but this was not done and Montreal, in addition to the discredit attached to the occurrence and the destruction of very valuable books and papers, lost finally its position as the seat of legislation for united Canada. For a number of years, Quebec and Toronto now became the alternate seat of Government.

Apart from the immediate disasters following this measure it served a great purpose in reviving the suggestion which Chief Justice Sewell had made in 1816 regarding a confederation of all the Provinces of British America. Like a meteoric flash in a dark sky that proposal had come and gone. Lord Durham had dreamed of it in 1838, but the vision had faded into the darkness of his own death. Now came the dawn of a vivified ideal and one which never left Canadian politics till its realisation in 1867. Another scheme also came to the stormy surface of affairs at this time, and its suggestion was caused partly by the Rebellion Losses legislation; partly by the collapse of industry, investment and commerce after the Imperial free trade enactments of 1846 and the consequent removal of preferential duties and British fiscal protection. A large meeting was held in Montreal in favour of annexation to the United States, and a numerously signed Manifesto was issued in a moment of ephemeral rage at the apparent desertion of Canada by the Imperial Parliament in trade matters and by the Queen's Representative in local legislation. Many

men afterwards distinguished in Canadian history signed this extravagant and interesting document. In after years Sir John Abbott, Sir D. L. McPherson, Sir John Rose, Sir A. A. Dorion and other leading politicians had reason to look back with a regret tinged with amusement at this act of signal and youthful rashness. But it illustrates the serious state of affairs which undoubtedly existed and which made a political and business leader like Isaac Buchanan declare that Lord Elgin would be the last Governor-General of Canada. The latter had, meanwhile, offered his resignation to the Imperial Government, but it was declined and his course was afterwards endorsed by both Houses of the British Parliament.

The Clergy Reserves issue now came to the front, and with it a man who for nearly three decades was destined to hold a strong place in Upper Canadian politics. George Brown was a vehement, aggressive, forceful politician and writer; editor and proprietor of the Toronto *Globe;* a Radical of consistently Scotch character; and a violent Protestant in his political opinions with, as a natural corollary, strong prejudices against the French-Canadians and anything which savoured of Catholic, or for that matter Anglican, ascendency in State affairs. He had for some years led in an agitation against Lord Sydenham's arrangement regarding the Clergy Reserves, and by which it was hoped that the question had been finally settled. This

legislation had been introduced by the Hon. W. H. Draper, with the Governor-General's strong support, in the last Legislature of Upper Canada, and by its terms the Reserves were to be sold and the proceeds divided—the greater part going to the clergymen of the Church of England and the balance being distributed amongst the other Christian Churches. This was carried by a small majority and was afterwards made law by Imperial legislation. But it never really satisfied the Radical element of the Liberal party, and Mr. George Brown was soon the recognised leader of a wing which came to be called "Clear Grits," as against the section of the party led by Baldwin, Lafontaine and others who were becoming more and more moderate in their views as time passed on and were opposed to any further agitation of the subject and, especially, to the secularisation of funds received from future sales.

This was the beginning of the break-up of the powerful Liberal Government and party led by Baldwin and Lafontaine. Brown's attitude upon religious or semi-religious issues gradually estranged French-Canadians from the party, while it divided the English section into followers of Brown and Baldwin respectively. Eventually, it may be said here, the former became the basis of the present Liberal party of the Dominion, although it was not till after Confederation that the sectarian element was sufficiently eliminated to permit of really full and cordial co-operation from French Liberals.

The "Baldwin Reformers," as they were termed, under the clever manipulation of Mr. John A. Macdonald—now well in the front of affairs—gradually drifted into the moderate Conservative party which that leader was striving to organise out of the disjointed Tory, French, Orange and moderate Liberal sections of the community. It was only after 1867, however, that the full result of his labours and skill was realised. Meanwhile, Ministry succeeded Ministry in a variety infinite, if not pleasing, and more like those of the modern French Republic than can be seen in any other parallel. Baldwin and Lafontaine retired from public life in 1851. Under the double leadership plan Francis Hincks and A. N. Morin, George Brown and John Sandfield Macdonald (for two days), J. S. Macdonald with L. V. Sicotte and then with A. A. Dorion, led the various Liberal Ministries from their respective Provinces up to 1867. During the same period Colonel E. P. Taché and George E. Cartier from Lower Canada acted with John A. Macdonald in a series of changing Conservative Administrations. The whole thing was a political kaleidoscope. Men were Liberals to-day and Conservatives to-morrow, while party platforms fluctuated much as did personal principles. Other men came to the front from time to time, of whom A. T. Galt, John Rose, Oliver Mowat, William McDougall, L. H. Holton, L. S. Huntington, Luc Letellier de St. Just, J. E. Cauchon, Alexander Campbell, H. L.

Langevin, T. D'Arcy McGee and W. P. Howland were the most representative.

In 1854, after an agitation extending over thirty years of keen controversy, the Clergy Reserves problem was finally settled by an Imperial Act which gave authority to the Canadian Legislature to deal again with the question; and by an Act of the latter under which the final separation of State and Church in Upper Canada was decreed. Endowed rectories were not interfered with and certain provisions were made for the widows and orphans of the clergy. The balance of the Reserves, in both funds and lands, was devoted to purposes of education and local improvement and divided accordingly amongst the townships in proportion to their population. Though urged with such persistence and for so many years by the Liberal leaders of the Province, this reform was at the last effected by the new Conservative party under the astute leadership of Mr. John A. Macdonald. So with the twin question in Lower Canada of the Seigneurial Tenure which, for half a century, had been recognised as hampering in some measure the settlement and progress of the Province. The Liberals, or French party, had more than once refused the fence in this connection, and neither Papineau in his days of power nor Lafontaine at a later period had cared very much to face the issue. In 1855, however, the Taché-Macdonald Government settled the matter on the basis of buying out the Seigneurs' claims; freeing the small farm-

ers of the Province from their various feudal dues and taxes; and appointing a Commission which in four years had disposed of this most complex question at an expense to the Province, as a whole, of £650,000.

The same period saw the temporary settlement of an important international issue—the trade relations of the growing Provinces with the United States. Lord Elgin, assisted by Commissioners from Canada and the other Provinces, arranged the terms of a treaty with W. L. Marcy, the American Secretary of State, upon the basis of a free exchange of the products of the sea, the fields, the forest and the mine. Americans had also the free run of Canadian fisheries, rivers and canals. But the one thing which would have made the Treaty beneficial to the Maritime Provinces was the admission of Provincial-built ships to the United States market, and this was not granted. Owing mainly to the Crimean War and the civil struggle in the Republic the arrangement finally appeared to be of great value to the Canadian farmer, though in most other directions it redounded to American interests. How Lord Elgin got the measure through the United States Senate is one of the curiosities of diplomatic history and the result stands to the lasting credit of his skill in statecraft, his geniality, personal tact and perhaps, also, to his hospitality. A tradition prevails to this day in Washington that the Treaty was floated through on a sea of champagne. Be that as

it may, the measure lasted from 1854 to 1866, and with a seeming success which makes Canadian farmers—forgetting that the high prices were chiefly due to war—look back upon the period as a sort of golden age in agriculture. Meanwhile the Crimean contest had stirred up Canadian loyalty. The 100th Regiment was formed and recruited in Canada and served with great credit on many a stern-fought field. Congratulatory addresses upon the Battle of the Alma passed the Canadian Legislature, and £20,000 was voted to the widows and orphans of those who fell in the war. Nova Scotia sent Major Welsford and Captain Parker to fall at the storming of the Redan and General (Sir) William Fenwick Williams to win lasting glory at Kars. New Brunswick sent soldiers who at the end of the war brought back to the banks of the St. John many a coveted medal awarded for bravery in the field. One of the results of these events was the organisation, in 1855, of a volunteer force which formed the nucleus of the more important militia of a later time.

Meanwhile, the railway idea had taken hold of the Provincial politicians, and during these years Hincks, Howe and Chandler, for the three Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick respectively, were mixed up in all kinds of complicated efforts to obtain Imperial aid and mutual co-operation in the building of railways. The net result was the Grand Trunk, the Great Western and some minor lines. In 1850 Papineau, who upon re-

ceiving his pardon had been promptly elected to the Legislature, introduced his old-time scheme of an elective Council. Owing, however, to loss of personal influence and other causes it fell flat for the moment. Six years later the experiment was tried in a mild and tentative form by the arrangement that as vacancies occurred in the Legislative Council, by death or retirement, they were to be filled up by election from large and stated constituencies for a period of eight years. In this mixed form the plan could hardly be termed a success and was entirely abandoned at Confederation. Politics still remained bitter, although some of the bad feelings engendered by the Rebellion period were slowly dying out. They were being replaced by two great sources of rivalry and political passion—the representation by population question and the "French domination" cry of the Hon. George Brown and the *Globe*. In a sense these were connected problems. The former was a simple enough matter had it not been for the racial feature. By the terms of union in 1841 the representation in the joint Legislature of the two Provinces was exactly equal, although the population of Lower Canada at that time was 200,000 greater than that of the Upper Province. And it was understood that this was to be the permanent basis of electoral arrangement. When, however, Upper Canada grew steadily in population and first equalled and then passed the other in numbers it was natural that many of her politicians should seek equal rep-

resentation—and it was also natural that they should be fiercely opposed by the French-Canadians.

Out of this agitation, coupled with the fact that at intervals the Lower Canadian contingent in the Assembly controlled the fate of Ministries and of important measures, grew the charge of growing dominance on the part of the French and the ever-ready fear of a Protestant population—or the extreme section of it—that this also meant Roman Catholic domination. Hence the vigorous denunciations by George Brown, the break-up of the old Liberal party and the gradual development of absolute deadlock in the functions of legislation. Mixed up with these difficulties were many minor, though collateral, ones. From the days when Parliament had sat in Montreal for the last time it had visited, alternately, Quebec and Toronto—four years in each place. But the perpipatetic plan was neither conducive to unity nor comfort and, in 1858, Her Majesty the Queen was asked by Legislative petition to select a central spot, away from the rival cities or the international frontier, where the seat of Government might be permanently established. The little village in the lumber region of the Ottawa, and within sound of the thundering Chaudière, was chosen and the name of Bytown changed to that of Ottawa. Upon this site grew slowly the massive and stately buildings which are now the pride of a continental Dominion, though before that result had fairly commenced to evolve there were months of foolish

and fruitless discord over the Royal decision. Racial and civic rivalry combined to make the Legislature unwilling to accept the Queen's selection, and to its disgrace a resolution was passed by a small majority declaring that Ottawa ought not to be the seat of Government. The Macdonald-Cartier Ministry at once resigned and the Brown-Macdonald Cabinet was formed, and then overthrown in two days by a vote of non-confidence. Messrs. John A. Macdonald and George E. Cartier returned to office. During the next session the Governor-General—Sir Edmund W. Head, Bart., had succeeded Lord Elgin in December, 1854—informed the Legislature that the Queen's decision was binding, and after another partisan debate the arrangement was finally accepted.

Events now moved rapidly towards that federal issue which statesmen could see must be the ultimate goal of British American politics. The public had not yet grasped the full idea, but an educative process was going on. In 1860 the young Prince of Wales visited the Provinces accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, and a large suite. The visit was made in accordance with the desire of the Queen and the Prince Consort to cultivate a personal as well as theoretical loyalty to the Crown in its great dependencies. About the same time Prince Alfred was sent to the Cape and then to Australia. In British America the Heir to the Throne received a magnificent welcome. Halifax, St. John, Quebec, Montreal and Toronto rivalled

one another in evidences of loyalty and pleasure, and the Maritime Provinces vied with French Canada in popular demonstrations. The only bit of discord to mar the absolute harmony of the event was the refusal of the Duke of Newcastle to advise the Prince to pass under certain Orange arches in Toronto, Belleville and Kingston, and the consequent anger of the important organisation concerned. At Montreal the great Victoria Bridge over the St. Lawrence, which at that time was considered one of the wonders of the world, was opened by the Prince, and at Ottawa the corner-stone of the Parliament Buildings was laid by His Royal Highness. Later, he made a tour of the United States under his subordinate title of Lord Renfrew and in a nominally private capacity—which, needless to say, was openly and almost entirely disregarded. His welcome was a mixture of the sincere and universal hospitality so characteristic of the Republic with a curiosity which was not always polite or pleasant. But the visit did good. In 1861 Lord Monck became Governor-General, and in the succeeding year, during a time when international complications growing out of the American Civil War threatened to involve Great Britain and Canada in a struggle with the United States, the Macdonald-Cartier Government was unfortunately defeated upon a Militia Bill which they had introduced with a view to preparing for eventualities. There were complex causes for the occurrence, but it naturally made an un-

favourable impression in England. During January, 1862, ten thousand British troops had been hurried to Halifax in connection with the Trent Affair—which was not settled for another year—and at the very time when the Assembly thus refused to support a policy of militia reorganisation and military co-operation with the Mother Country the spirit of war was smouldering fiercely in a cauldron of international dispute. The Manchester School, which was then dominant in British politics, delighted in this apparent evidence of Canadian indifference to Imperial matters, and from Lord Palmerston and the *Times* downward there was much contemptuous reference to the spiritless loyalty, or lack of loyalty, which had been shown. The fact, of course, was that politics were uppermost and the public unconvinced that war was really probable.

During this period there was a strong sympathy shown by the Canadian press for the Southern States, although at the same time Canadians to the number of 40,000 men are said to have served in the Northern armies. Many Southerners made the Provinces a place of refuge and of communication with friends in the Northern States, and one of the results of this condition of affairs was the plundering of an American vessel in Lake Erie. A raid upon the border town of St. Albans, in Vermont, was also made in October, 1864, by twenty-three Southerners who robbed the banks of some $250,000, shot the cashier of one institution, and then made

their escape back into Canada. They were promptly arrested and $90,000 recovered, but were as hurriedly released by the Montreal Chief of Police, who, at the same time, returned the money to them with a hasty kindness and zeal which lost him his place and eventually made the Province responsible for the sum. It was duly paid over and volunteers stationed on the frontier to prevent the recurrence of an incident which, nevertheless, created intense ill-feeling in the United States. At the close of the Civil War occurred the Fenian Raids of 1866 and the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty.

The Fenian Raids were the outcome of the immense migration of discontented Irishmen to the United States in 1849 and immediately following years, and of the hostility aroused in the Northern States toward Great Britain by the Alabama incident and the alleged sympathy of that country for the Southern cause. The movement was helped also by the existence of a great body of idle men in the Republic who had for some years served as soldiers, and now, at the close of the Civil War, felt no inclination to turn again to manual labour or the binding occupations of a time of peace. The ground was therefore ripe for mischief and Fenian societies sprang up all through the frontier States—nominally for the purpose of "freeing" Ireland, practically for the invasion of Canada as being the nearest and easiest way of hurting Great Britain. Headquarters were established at New York in a palatial

mansion and with a large and highly-paid staff; an arsenal was formed at Trenton, N.J., for the conversion of American Springfield muskets into breech-loaders; numerous depôts of arms, ammunition and military stores were placed along the Canadian border; one hundred thousand men were enlisted and drilled by December, 1865; and arrangements were attempted for a rising in Ireland at the same time as the projected invasion of Canada. All these plans and movements were public property, as were the protests of the British Government; but nothing was done by American authorities who, at this very time, were denouncing with tremendous vigour the accident by which the Alabama had escaped from an English port and were demanding damages of untold millions in amount.

The nominal strength of the volunteers in British America was 22,000, and since the Trent Affair of 1862 there had also been some 12,000 Imperial troops stationed throughout the country. On March 17th, 1866, ten thousand volunteers were called out to meet a threatened invasion of the Canadian frontier. Fourteen thousand responded and General McDougall in a subsequent Report declared that thirty thousand could have been as easily obtained. Nothing happened for the moment, however, except an incipient raid on New Brunswick which was checked at an early stage by the presence on the coast of sundry British men-of-war. After some duty on the frontier as guards the Canadian volun-

teers were allowed to return home. But a little later the Fenian movement into Canada really began, and on May 31st fourteen thousand men were ordered out for actual service. In three days 20,000 men were under arms. The details of ensuing events need not be entered into. They were important in their consequences but trivial in the number of men engaged and in the nature of the actual conflicts. On the old battle-grounds of the Niagara, nine hundred Fenians were met by a detachment of Canadian militia, but, owing to the mistakes of officers who misapprehended instructions, the Canadians were compelled to retreat from what is called the Battle of Ridgeway, leaving nine dead and twenty-two wounded on the field. Hearing, however, of the approach of a larger force, with a number of regulars amongst them, the Fenian contingent retired across the river to New York State. Other invasions were threatened at different points on the border, but were checked by the concentration of troops on the Canadian side. Some invasions followed in later years, but this was the record for 1866. It seems a small sum total of actual hostilities, yet it involved a militia expenditure of a million dollars over the normal figure, the death of several brave young Canadians, and a serious loss to the people, through the natural and inevitable disorganisation of business.

Upon the footsteps of this trouble came also the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty and the conse-

quent shattering of many commercial ties and interests; together with a final realisation of the failure of responsible government to remove racial rivalries. This latter political principle had now been in operation for twenty-five years, and so far as Canada was concerned had been an instrument of both good and evil. It found the two Provinces wrecked in a constitutional sense upon the shoals of rebellion; it left the ship of state foundering upon the rocks of racial and religious jealousy. Yet in effect the value of self-government had been vindicated, and only popular abuse of the privilege had made its nominal failure possible. It had by free discussion evoked some common grounds of action between people of different creeds and race. It had forced the settlement of the Clergy Reserves, the Seigneurial Tenure and the Seat of Government question. It had evolved a system of Cabinet construction and ministerial responsibility which, however, was continuously hampered by the attempt to introduce the alien element of confidence from a double majority—one from each part of the Province. Upon this issue the whole system was now stranded, and out of the impossibility of forming a stable Government—which became finally and fully evident in 1864 after a dozen orgaised and reorganised Ministries in two years—came the partisan willingness to consider a wider union.

From the granting of responsible government until the period when Confederation became every-

where a living issue the Provinces facing the waters of the Atlantic were not greatly troubled in a political sense. It took time, of course, to exactly fit the new constitutional garment to the body of public life, but there was no such turmoil as was bred by the same process in the Canadas. For some years following 1850 the great subject of discussion was the Intercolonial Railway suggested by Lord Durham and fitfully urged from time to time thereafter. As a political issue Joseph Howe made it his own, paid a visit to England, and delivered eloquent speeches which he followed up by numerous letters addressed to Earl Grey. Conferences ensued between the Provinces; varying complexities were introduced by the building of the Grand Trunk in Upper Canada; plans for co-operation amongst the Provinces were received in degrees varying from the friendly to the frigid; international considerations were found to exist under which England refused to subsidise a road unless free from American connections and distant from the American border; and the whole thing finally fell through until after Confederation had been some years in existence. In 1852, at the age of seventy-four, Sir John Harvey died in Government House, Halifax, after having ruled for sixteen years in Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and always with success and popularity. Such a record, in those days, stamps his memory as that of a statesman as well as a soldier. Sir John

Gaspard Le Marchant succeeded him for six years, and the Earl of Mulgrave—afterwards Marquess of Normanby—acted as Lieutenant-Governor from 1858 to 1863. Sir Richard Graves Macdonnell then held the position for a little over a year and was replaced for two years by a distinguished native of the Province, Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars, who had the honour of presiding over its entry into the new Dominion. In 1855 a first attempt to introduce a Prohibitory liquor law in British America was made by the Conservative leader in Nova Scotia, the Hon. J. W. Johnston, but was laughed and ridiculed out of court by Joseph Howe. A memorable incident of this year was Howe's defeat in Cumberland County by one of the most striking figures in all Canadian history—Dr. Charles Tupper. Handsome in appearance, strong in physique, energetic beyond political parallel in the Province, eloquent with a sledge-hammer force which was yet to ring from Halifax to Vancouver and to leave its impress in the metropolis of the Empire, Dr. Tupper was, even at this time, a worthy foe of the man who had held Nova Scotia so long in the hollow of his hand. More fortunate than he, a time was to come when events would enable him to be a potent figure in national and Imperial development as well as in the smaller arena of his native Province. The Conservatives came into power in 1857 under Johnston and Tupper, were sustained at the elections of 1863, and in the succeeding year

Dr. Tupper introduced a measure which completely revolutionised the educational system of the Province and another which proposed the Legislative union of the Maritime Provinces and proved a pretext for the wider union which evolved out of the ensuing discussions.

In New Brunswick little had, meanwhile, occurred of importance. Sir Edmund W. Head acted as Lieutenant-Governor until 1854 and was succeeded for seven years by Sir J. H. T. Manners-Sutton. The Hon. Arthur Hamilton Gordon—afterwards Lord Stanmore—presided over its affairs from 1861 until Confederation. There was little party spirit shown until 1855—the chief topics of political discussion being the proposed Intercolonial Railway and an agitation for retrenchment in the Judges' salaries led by Wilmot and Fisher. A more important subject of wider controversy was the right to place a protective duty on flour, and afterwards on other products of local industry, as well as the right to grant a bounty to the fishermen of the Province. Lord Grey, who was at the Colonial Office and just then sitting on the valve of an active and pulsating free trade principle, naturally objected, but he had to finally give way, as did Downing Street in 1858, when the Hon. A. T. Galt imposed his Canadian protectionist duties. Then came the heated discussions over Confederation, led on the one side by the Hon. S. L. Tilley and in opposition by the Hon. A. J. Smith. Prince Edward Island had meantime

been using every possible way and means to settle its complicated land tenure question. The Imperial Government was only too anxious to find a solution, but it was naturally and properly bound to defend the just rights of the Proprietors, as it was also desirous of alleviating admitted grievances and checks upon settlement. Something was done in 1854 when the Provincial Government purchased for re-sale to settlers, under free tenure, a large estate of 81,000 acres. Then the Assembly proposed that the Imperial Government should guarantee a loan of £100,000 to enable them to buy out other proprietors, but, after some promising negotiations, this scheme fell through. Finally, a Royal Commission of Inquiry was asked for and in 1860 appointed—one Commissioner by the Colonial Government, one by the Imperial authorities and one by the Proprietors. In 1858 the estates of the Earl of Selkirk, who had done such pioneer service to the Island, were purchased—62,000 acres for the sum of £6,586. The ensuing Report of the Commission was a singularly able document, and proposed, in brief, that the absentee proprietors who owned more than fifteen thousand acres should be obliged to sell, down to that amount, when asked by their tenants; and that the Imperial Government should guarantee the loan previously suggested by the Provincial Assembly. This was not done, however, and the question smouldered unsettled until after Confederation. As Governors of the little Province Sir

Dominick Daly (of Canadian fame) had succeeded Sir A. Bannerman in 1854 and Mr. George Dundas ruled, at least nominally, until 1868, when he was replaced by Sir Robert Hodgson. Mr. (afterwards Sir) William C. F. Robinson succeeded in 1870 and governed until after the Province entered the Dominion.

Far away to the North and West some progress had been made during this period. In the North-West regions proper, the Red River Settlement was still apparently an oasis of colonisation in a wild waste where Indian and Half-breed camps and fur-trade forts monopolised the commerce and control of the country. But, although the fur trade was unquestioned monarch of the land from Lake Superior to the Rockies and Sir George Simpson, a vigilant, energetic and able ruler of the territory, was not too fond of settlers, yet around the numerous trading-posts which he placed on rivers, lakes and bays there naturally arose a number of flourishing little colonies which, in turn, attracted isolated and occasional settlers who were not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company. But these latter were exceptional. In 1849 the Company founded Victoria as the capital of its Pacific territories and with a basis of thirty settlers in addition to its own employés. Richard Blanshard was the first Governor of the infant Colony, but a year later threw up the office and was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Douglas—the chief figure in British

Columbian pioneer life. During his rule many things happened. In and about 1856 miners poured into the region watered by the Fraser and Thompson Rivers and very soon the wild canyons and pine-clad heights of the great mountainous interior of the mainland swarmed with adventurers and every kind of rough and turbulent character. In 1858 Douglas was given charge of this region as well as Vancouver Island, and for six years administered it with an iron hand. He then retired and was succeeded on the Island for two years by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Arthur E. Kennedy and on the Mainland by Mr. Frederick Seymour.

Meantime Governor Douglas had also to deal with a critical international complication arising out of the Oregon Treaty by which Great Britain, in 1846, yielded up to the United States a large territory she had always claimed as hers, and which included all the splendid Puget Sound region and the greater parts of the present States of Washington and Oregon. The new controversy arose out of the question as to which channel was meant in the terms of the Treaty defining the boundary line through the waters and islands between Vancouver Island and the United States mainland. Only one had been then known to exist; afterwards there were found to be three. The Island of San Juan was the centre of controversy as it commanded British shores and was an important position from a military standpoint. In 1854 some American squatters settled on the

Island, and soon two rival flags were flying and national passions being continually aroused. In 1859 a wandering pig brought the nations interested to the verge of war. One of these animals, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Fort, strayed on to the unenclosed ground of an American settler, named Cutler, who promptly shot it and then scornfully refused payment. The demand for remuneration was even resented as an outrage, and General Harney sent a force of United States troops to occupy and administer the whole Island. Governor Douglas had abundant troops at his command and British warships on the spot, but, with characteristic British patience, he awaited the decision of his Government. On learning of the event, however, the American Administration apologised, sent General Winfield Scott to replace Harney and, eventually, in 1860, a joint occupation was arranged. In 1872 the issue was decided by arbitration, and, as usual, against England.

Other matters now came up of a constitutional nature. Vancouver Island and the Mainland had been taken from the control of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1858, as a result of the lapsing of the arrangement under which they had promised—and failed—to colonise as well as govern. The two divisions were made separate governments, as already stated, but owing to the danger which afterwards arose of the Island being carried into the swing of a strong annexation movement resulting from the in-

flux of Americans, it was reunited in 1866 with the Mainland by Act of the Imperial Parliament and with Mr. Anthony Musgrave as Governor. For eight years following 1850 the Government had been solely in the Governor's hands and for five years following 1858 in the hands of a Governor and Executive Council. In March, 1860, Governor Douglas met a Council of fifteen members—partly appointed, partly elected, and from both the Island and the Mainland. This arrangement lasted till 1864 when separate Legislative Councils were convened. Not until February, 1871, did a properly elected Assembly sit for the Province. By that time the splendid dream of a Dominion stretching from sea to sea had been partially realised and was awaiting the final decision of these representatives of still scattered settlements in the wilds of the Selkirks and on the shores of the Pacific.

CHAPTER XIII.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF MATERIAL PROGRESS.

During the formative period of Canadian history the principal progress of the country had, in all the Provinces, taken the shape of transforming the forest areas into farm lands and at the same time adjusting varied views of government and life, brought from older civilisations into harmony with the conditions of a new and potential empire.

In the succeeding quarter of a century the first phase of this development is still more clearly recorded in the statistics of the period as well as in the greater comforts of the home and the more populous character of the small cities and towns. There had been a large immigration just prior to the Rebellion, but, except as to driblets, this ceased during the troubles of that time. Between 1840 and 1850, however, some 350,000 souls were landed at Quebec, a large proportion of whom—perhaps a half—went to the United States. During the single year 1847, when the terrible Irish famine was at its height, nearly a hundred thousand people came to that port of the new world. Between 1852 and 1865, 336,000

immigrants arrived at Quebec,* and a somewhat similar proportion as above seem to have stayed in Canada. In 1866 the immigrants amounted to 28,000. Like an army this mass of people spread over the soil of Canada or the neighbouring Republic. Up the St. Lawrence Valley they came in thousands and settled the forests of the Huron Tract in a manner which would have made Galt envious and did eventually astonish the Canada Company. A great territory back of the Tract which had been regarded as swamp land was thrown open by the Government, and in a short time two large counties —Bruce and Waterloo—stretching up to the shores of the Georgian Bay, were ringing with the axe of the settler.

In 1857 the Counties of Wellington and Grey were formed out of what had been called the Queen's Bush, and in the succeeding ten years became the home of many thousands of families from the Old Land. In 1843 the County of Simcoe had been set apart for settlement and in seven years its population grew to 25,000. It was the policy of the Government at this time to open up the counties back of Kingston, Peterborough, Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa, and, owing to this influx of settlers, the plan was very largely successful. New Brunswick also began to receive some accessions to its population, though not in a similarly bountiful measure. Be-

* Report of A. C. Buchanan, Chief Government Immigration Agent, Quebec, 1866.

tween 1834 and 1840 the increase had been about 30,000 and in the next eleven years it was 37,000. In 1847, the year of Ireland's sorrow and of England's succour to the extent of millions of pounds sterling, ninety-nine vessels arrived from that country laden with victims of "ship-fever." Thousands died of the plague on the way, other thousands in the St. Lawrence River, and these years will be as memorable in Canadian history as is the cholera period of 1832–34, when that terrible disease wreaked havoc at Quebec and Montreal and in many parts of Upper Canada—amongst not only the unfortunate immigrants who had brought it to the country but amongst all classes of the people. In the two French Canadian cities thousands had also died from the earlier scourge. With this influx of people and despite the passage of many to the United States the settlement of the Provinces grew steadily, though not rapidly, as may be seen from the following table:

	1851.	1861.	1871.
Lower Canada	890,261	1,111,566	1,191,516
Upper Canada	952,004	1,396,091	1,620,851
Nova Scotia	276,117	330,857	387,800
New Brunswick	193,800	252,047	285,594
Prince Edward Island	65,000*	80,857	94,021
Manitoba and British Columbia	——	10,000*	46,314
	2,377,182	3,181,418	3,626,096†

It was upon the whole a good class of population.

* Estimated. † Indians, 100,000 included.

The extreme element of political thought and the disloyal or discontented section went largely over the border and left behind a stable, solid and substantial mass of hard-working people. Between 1861 and 1871 emigration of all kinds from England decreased, and Canada sank into a background illumined only by the civil conflagration in the United States and the not very inviting prospect of war. Prosperity in the United Kingdom and the dominance of stormy politics in the Canadas also had their effect upon emigration. In 1861 the Census returns for the four chief Provinces gave forty-four per cent. of the people as belonging to the Church of Rome, fifteen per cent. each to the Church of England and the combined Presbyterian divisions, fourteen per cent. to the Methodist Churches, and a little over six per cent. to the Baptist denomination. The most interesting feature of these figures is, of course, the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada, where 85 per cent. of the people belonged to that faith, and the decline of the Church of England in its comparative numerical strength as well as in its governing and political influence. At the same date the adult male population of the Provinces was composed of 320,000 farmers with 209,000 labourers—including lumbermen—and 115,000 mechanics. Only 57,000 were engaged in trade and commerce and fisheries, so that the still overwhelming preponderance of the farm was very visible.

Since the Union of the Canadas in 1841 there had been an enormous expansion in this agricultural production. The forest had in so many great regions given way to the farm; the methods of cultivation had so greatly improved and the knowledge of the farmers, derived from growing practical acquaintance with the soil and climate, had so largely increased; while prices, owing to wars in the East and West, in Hindostan, the Crimea and the Southern States, had so bountifully grown; that the farmers of these Provinces shared in a common expansion of prosperity which is never likely to be seen again. In 1861 the Census had shown a cash value in farms of $537,000,000, in live stock of about $120,000,000, and in implements of $25,000,000. Nine years later a reasonable estimate in this connection * placed the value of farms at $672,000,000, of live stock at $150,000,000, and of agricultural implements at $31,000,000, while the value of the products was estimated at $196,000,000. Between 1854 and 1866 the products of the farm had gone into the markets of the United States free, while the various wars of the period, and especially the one which withdrew a million of men in the United States from productive pursuits and threw them into a prolonged and sanguinary struggle, naturally ran the prices of products up. But as time passed conditions gradually changed, and from finding the United

* James Young, M.P., in the *Year Book of Canada*, Montreal, 1871.

States under the Reciprocity Treaty and the circumstances just noted a splendid market for their products, Canadian farmers about the time of Confederation and the repeal of that Treaty were discovering an unpleasant development of American competition in local markets and a growing competition of the same kind in British markets.

Meanwhile trade and commerce showed signs of progress, despite difficulties of various kinds. Up to 1841 pioneer conditions of transportation and the comatose state of enterprise and investment following the American Revolution period had prevented much continental interchange and restricted both imports and exports. It took some time to rise out of these conditions, and still longer to get railways and canals into established and working order. Another detrimental and vital influence was to be found in the tariffs which each Province imposed upon goods coming from the other. Not satisfied with separation in their governmental systems, severance between the Canadas in racial and religious sentiments and between the other Provinces by great spaces of wilderness, they had also every variety of fiscal division. When the Canadas united that difficulty disappeared as between them, but it was still maintained against the Maritime Provinces—with which the total trade in 1851 amounted to $1,865,000 and in 1854 to $2,770,000.* By 1862 the various dis-

* Report of Committee in Canadian House of Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1855, vol. 17.

cussions over Intercolonial railway connection had aroused popular interest in this question, and Lord Monck made an effort on behalf of Canada to have some freer Provincial trade basis arranged. But nothing practical was done until the general union of 1867. Meanwhile in the same year (1863) the Hon. (afterwards Sir) W. P. Howland had prepared an elaborate Report on the subject from which it may be seen that the Canadian duties on imports from the other Provinces such as manfactures, tea, tobacco, wine, etc., ran from 20 to 30 per cent., while the Maritime Province duties were only about one-half of those figures. It is interesting to note that the tax upon gin ran from 100 to 175 per cent. and on rum from 57 to 100 per cent. in the different Provinces.

In 1851 the external trade of the Canadas was twenty-one million dollars in imports and thirteen millions in exports, and by the time of Confederation it had reached one hundred and seven millions as the sum total of both imports and exports. Of the exports, in 1866, Great Britain received $12,900,000 and the United States $34,000,000. The imports from these two countries were respectively $29,000,000 and $20,000,000. This characteristic of Canadian commerce was destined to be afterwards revolutionised, partly by the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty and partly by the higher tariffs imposed in the Republic. In this connection it must be pointed out in passing that the Treaty was

not an unmixed good to British America. It led the Provinces to separately cultivate interchange of products to the South in preference to promoting closer commercial relations with each other east and west. It positively decreased trade in some cases between the Provinces and in other cases prevented possible expansion. It destroyed the St. Lawrence as a great Canadian transportation route. It made the United States the carrier of Canadian exports abroad, depleted the returns and profits of Canadian railways, helped to delay the building of the Intercolonial between Halifax and Quebec and made the Provinces dangerously dependent upon American fiscal will and pleasure. By 1866 the trade of New Brunswick had grown to twelve millions and that of Nova Scotia to twenty-two millions—a total commerce for the four Provinces of $147,000,000. The chief exports of Canada were animals and agricultural products and lumber and its manufactured products. Those of New Brunswick were lumber and its products and ships, while Nova Scotia exported largely of fish and coal. Minerals were as yet slightly produced, although gold had been discovered in British Columbia and Nova Scotia; and manufactures were still insignificant in the export trade.

The railway development of this period was very great and the results complicated and contradictory. To individuals throughout a myriad scattered communities it was an unmixed good—bringing life and

business and growth to villages and towns, placing the farmer in contact with the larger centres of population, and bringing the centres into communication with each other. But, partly through ignorance concerning the conditions of construction in a new and vast country, partly through extravagance in expenditure and comparatively small returns from a sparse population and trade, the larger lines did not pay and the shareholders suffered proportionately. Money was poured out like water upon the building of the Grand Trunk and Great Western Lines, and, between 1852 and 1857, there was a period of speculative mania which sent governments, municipalities and corporations into a wild rivalry of expenditure and extravagance. When the reaction came in the financial crisis of the last-mentioned year the English shareholder was brought to the point of cursing all Canadian investments because he had suffered so greatly in one; and an injury was thus done Canadian credit which nearly half a century has not absolutely wiped out. The local taxpayer suffered also, and more than one public man in the Provinces regretted his connection with the railway movement. Yet it was a period of great and necessary progress, and the hero of this expansion, the Colbert of his time, was Sir Francis Hincks. He was a man in whom many seeming contradictions of character centred. At times a vehement partisan, at times a moderate Liberal, he eventually became a Conservative. Conspicuous in the Welland Canal investiga-

tions of 1835, he was himself the ultimate victim of charges at the hands of Howe, whom he had apparently got the better of in the railway rivalries of the early fifties. With a tongue that cut like a sword he was yet a careful speaker upon many important and serious topics. With a temperament of feverish activity he was also a clear-headed and methodical man of business. With a financial reputation so pronounced that Sir John Macdonald in days of Dominion unity selected him as the best available man for the post of Finance Minister, he yet towards the end of his career was involved in the unfortunate failure of a Bank over whose affairs he had presided for years. But he did the country good service. His Municipal Loan Bill of 1849, though eventually plunging Canadian municipalities into a debt of ten million dollars, laid the foundation of our railway system, while the building of the Grand Trunk, despite its after difficulties and disasters, was an all-important aid to the general community. To this period and in this connection belong the great bridge across the St. Lawrence at Montreal which cost seven millions of dollars and was completed in 1860, and the famous Suspension Bridge which spans the Niagara chasm and was finished in 1855.

In 1850 there were only fifty-five miles of railway in all the wide areas of British America; in 1867 there were over three thousand miles. The cost of these lines up to the latter year was $160,000,000, including $24,000,000 for the Great Western

and $102,000,000 for the Grand Trunk. The annual earnings were over twelve millions, and there were seven important lines projected and contracted for—including the Intercolonial—which would cover fourteen hundred more miles. A continental road was still the dream of a very few and steam communication with the distant Orient a vision of fancy only.

Intimately connected with this branch of progress in the promotion of trade and business, though in every other sense a rival interest, was the development of the Canal system. Such improvements as had been made in nature's great waterways prior to 1841 were largely tentative, though costly and in a measure serviceable. After that date, however, the co-operation of the two Canadian Provinces in matters of material importance, disturbed though it often was by political bitterness and controversy, enabled much more to be done. In the Welland Canal which, during a long term of years, was gradually and steadily increased at a cost, up to July 1st, 1867, of $7,638,000, William Hamilton Merritt left a lasting memorial of indefatigable exertions and intense enthusiasm. Following its success and the building of the Lachine Canal on the St. Lawrence navigation and the Rideau on the Ottawa, came, after 1841, the completion of a series of Canals intended to improve and perfect the great system of the former river. In this connection the improvement of the Montreal Harbour was an important work which was

greatly furthered during these years and in which the Hon. John Young of Montreal took an active part—as he did in most of the pioneer railway and canal schemes of Lower Canada. In 1845 the Beauharnois Canal was opened and up to Confederation had cost $1,600,000. The Canals known as the Williamsburg System were completed in 1856 at a cost of $1,300,000 up to the year 1867. The Richelieu Canals, the Burlington Bay Canal, and others were carried to the final stage, or improved, during this period with a total expenditure—including that of the years before the Union of 1841—amounting to twenty-one millions of dollars. A great waterway was thus assured through Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario to the sea, for vessels of moderate draught, while at the same time a competitive warfare of somewhat serious character was inaugurated between railways and waterways. The farmers have now for many years had the advantage but in those days it was still a very debateable question—and may easily be again—as to which was to be the best and strongest factor in transportation. Water rates are lower but carriage is slower, and consequently the railways have gained greatly in these times of lightning rapidity. But from 1851 onwards for a decade or so the issue was not decided, one route cut into the other, and before the popular verdict was given the Grand Trunk and Great Western suffered considerably.

Meanwhile progress in other directions was

marked. Provincial revenues are in some ways indicative of popular conditions, though perhaps more so of political requirements. In any case they grew steadily during this period in all the Provinces—slowly down by the sea, swiftly up the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. In the fiscal year 1865–6 the revenues of Canada were $12,600,000; those of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia $3,100,000. The expenditures naturally maintained a fair equilibrium, and with the inevitable tendency of democratic government towards expense, these popular Ministries incurred liabilities and promoted enterprises which Administrators like Lord Dalhousie, Sir Howard Douglas or Sir John Harvey, with all their desire to promote the material interests of the people, would have shrunk from. It was a natural process, however, because only when a man feels that he has the country behind him and with him can he develop into a Napoleon of national finance and produce the varied benefits and disasters which such a position involves. At Confederation, therefore, the united revenues of these Provinces, with a population of about three millions, excelled those of the United States in the years between 1792 and 1805 when the population of that country ran from four to six millions. Under the rule of the Tory party in the Provinces there had been up to 1841 but little of debt incurred. Upper Canada had indeed liabilities of five million dollars which were then deemed very heavy and

were assumed by the united Government of the Canadas. On June 30th, 1866, the debt of the two Provinces was $77,000,000, that of Nova Scotia $6,000,000, and of New Brunswick $5,900,000. That of Prince Edward Island on January 31st, 1867, was $445,000. These liabilities represented, of course, the cost of railways, canals and other public works, and in that sense were evidences of substantial development. But a not inconsiderable proportion of the money was wasted by the inexperience of politicians who knew nothing of finance, and the experience of others who knew too much. The circumstances were inevitable in a new and still crude community, as indeed they seem to have been in far greater and richer states during these years of transportation schemes and speculations.

Banks and banking had progressed greatly. The commercial crises of 1837 and 1857 in the United States had naturally affected the British Provinces and the banks had gone through various experiences of disaster and difficulty. But they had also learned many lessons, and the Legislature of United Canada had taken leaves of useful knowledge from the book of English legislation, the valuable instructions of the Colonial Office, and the occasional vetoes of the Crown. Gradually American ideas gave way to British, and especially Scottish, principles of banking; the branch system was maintained and elaborated; and by July 1st, 1867, there were seven banks in Upper Canada with a paid-up capital of

nine million dollars, twelve in Lower Canada with a paid-up capital of twenty millions and thirteen small banks in the Maritime Provinces with a similar capital of three millions. The total deposits in all these institutions amounted to over thirty-two million dollars, the circulation of bank notes to over ten millions, and the discounts to fifty-six millions. Savings and Loan Companies were as yet not equally popular, or strong, and the total deposits in 1867 were not five millions in value. The Bank of Upper Canada, after a stormy history which would not be deemed a wise one to-day, collapsed in 1866. It had been endowed during its earlier years with all the *prestige* of a Government institution and had been managed upon a broad, hopeful and enterprising basis eminently suited to pioneer times and the development of a new country. More ambitious for the progress of the Province than always cautious for its own welfare, it was a widely popular and in the main a useful institution. In its day and to the farming community of Upper Canada it was like the Bank of England and to be in its service was an honour. But the time of trouble came, and despite all possible assistance from the Government, it had to suspend payment with a loss to the latter of a million dollars and to the shareholders of over three millions. The Merchants' Bank of Canada was founded in 1864, mainly by the exertions of Sir Hugh Allan of Montreal and with a paid-up capital of one million; and the Canadian

Bank of Commerce was organised in 1867 with a similar capital. They subsequently became the two largest institutions in Canada after the Bank of Montreal, whose capital during this period had risen from two million dollars in 1841 to twelve millions in 1873, with a reserve fund which increased from $89,000 to three millions (1870). Much of the progress of this latter institution was due to the extraordinary abilities of Mr. E. H. King, who became its General Manager in 1863.* He plunged into tremendous speculations in New York during the Civil War which turned out successfully and poured profits into the Bank's coffers, while he at the same time cut off, with the unsparing hand of a great surgeon, all doubtful business at home. As a whole the banking arrangements of British America were established during this period upon a basis which made it possible to evolve in later years a system serving the fluctuating business necessities of the country as a sail adjusts itself to the motions of the wind.

Shipbuilding prospered greatly in the years preceding Confederation. Between 1860 and 1866 the Canadian annual tonnage—built chiefly at Quebec, on the St. Lawrence, and Kingston, on Lake Ontario—ran from 24,000 to 64,000. In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the industry was still more progressive and in the former Province the

* Mr. King became President of the Bank in 1869, retired in 1873, and died in 1896.

tonnage in 1863 was 85,250. The total for the three Provinces rose from 85,680 tons in 1860 to 155,551 tons in 1866, while in little Prince Edward Island the figures between 1850 and 1863 ran from 14,000 tons, valued at half a million dollars, to 26,000 tons, valued at nearly a million. With this and connected industries the lumber trade grew in all the Provinces and the apparently illimitable forests began to visibly shrink before the unceasing labours of thousands of woodmen added to the long-continued and persistent advance of the pioneer settler, or progressive farmer, in search of more soil and increased facilities for production. In extending the making of ships steam came to help their increased use and the birth of this period saw the commencement of the great Cunard Line of ocean steamers at the hands of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Samuel Cunard, of Halifax, while 1852 saw the beginning of the Allan Line of steamers on the St. Lawrence. Then came the extension of the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company, and other lines commenced to run from Lake Ontario to the sea or from Quebec to Liverpool. By the time of Confederation there were innumerable steamers on the Great Lakes and the larger rivers of British America and a total inland and sea-going tonnage which made Canada three years later, in 1870, possess the fourth mercantile navy in the world—7,591 ships with a tonnage of 899,096.* In

* *Statesman's Year Book*, London, 1870.

the year 1868 forty thousand British and fifteen thousand foreign vessels, with a thirteen million tonnage, registered at the ports of the New Dominion.

Another branch of commerce which expanded greatly during this period was the development of the boundless fisheries of the seaboard and the lakes. This the Reciprocity Treaty had helped by providing the American market for the fish and hampered by giving freedom to American fishermen in Canadian waters—in 1866 United States craft under Canadian licence numbered 454, while many fished without licence. The estimated value of this American catch in the year mentioned was from twelve to fourteen millions of dollars. The Canadian and Maritime Provinces at the same time caught in sea and lake waters, so far as recorded, fish to the value of $6,263,000, and this included both those for export and for local consumption. Turning again from the sea to the land, we find that mining was still in its infancy, though the resources were immeasurable. Some small development was going on, however, in plumbago mining at Buckingham on the Ottawa, in iron at Marmora in Upper Canada, in copper in the Eastern Townships, in gold and coal in Nova Scotia. The latter Province showed a production in 1865 of 601,000 tons of coal, worth about two million dollars.

Analysing the material progress of this period, the most remarkable advance seems to have been in means of transportation and in agriculture—the

twin bases of material development. Manufacturing was still a creation of powers which were "cribbed, cabin'd and confined." The beginning had been made, however, in cottons and in woollen and iron industries. Andrew Paton in 1866 started what afterwards became the largest woollen factory in the Dominion; James Rosamond in 1857, after a previous effort in Carleton Place, founded the Almonte Mills which were destined to afterwards grow to very large proportions. George Stephen and Company of Montreal—the head of which became one of the creators of the Canadian Pacific Railway and a Peer of Great Britain—were perhaps the chief wholesale people of the time in this line. The Census of 1871 showed 270 cloth-making establishments in the four Provinces with a productive value of five million and a half of dollars. At the same time there were 650 carding and fulling mills; while over seven million yards of cloth were still made on hand-looms in the houses of the people. In 1857 a knitting factory was started in Belleville, and the industry soon found a footing—especially in Paris and Galt, U.C. Cotton manfacturing to any extent did not commence till the early sixties, but there were pioneer mills established twenty years before that period, and notably the one at Sherbrooke, Lower Canada, which was promoted in some measure by the Hon. A. T. Galt. Another was established in Thorold, Upper Canada, in 1847, and in 1861 the oldest existing cotton mill was started in St. John, N.B., by

W. Parks & Son. Yet progress was slow, and up to 1871 there were only eight mills in all the Provinces. In the same year there were only 21 paper mills in existence, while the boot and shoe industry made slower progress than it had done prior to 1841.

In providing improved means of transportation, however, the Provinces had laid a notable foundation for future commercial progress as well as for a fair measure of present prosperity, and it remained for the following two decades to carry on the system to continental and Imperial proportions. Agriculture had meanwhile made prosperous farmers out of pioneer settlers, and the figures for 1866 showed twenty-one million acres of land surveyed and sold, or granted, in Upper Canada, nineteen million acres in Lower Canada, six millions in Nova Scotia and nine millions in New Brunswick. Only a proportion of this land was as yet cultivated, however, and back of it was a vast, unsettled and ungranted reserve of some fourteen millions in the Maritime Provinces, together with the apparently illimitable wastes of the far West.

CHAPTER XIV.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF POPULAR PROGRESS.

While political experiments of various kinds were being tried in the Provinces, with differing degrees of success, and the party system was passing through its preliminary stages and constantly bubbling up to the surface of the constitutional cauldron, the people were slowly evolving into a larger and broader life with a better and truer view. The pioneer period was passing away in all the older parts of the country, and men found themselves able to devote their time and talents to plans for the betterment of popular conditions and the elevation of the public mind. Sir Samuel Cunard and Sir Hugh Allan breasted the difficulties of ocean steam transportation, while Merritt and Young, Hincks and Howe, devoted themselves to the development of canal or railway communication. Dr. Ryerson and Bishop Strachan in Upper Canada, Dr. J. B. Meilleur and the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau in Lower Canada, exerted the widest influence in promoting educational improvement, whilst clergymen of all denominations helped in all the Provinces to raise the religious and general standard of the people. Many of the incom-

ing immigrants were of superior type in physique and education, and had come to British America with a view to bettering themselves by growing up with a new country and not because they were driven from the Old Land by political discontent or personal failure. The majority of those who came out during the famine years and the storms of the early forties naturally drifted into the United States, where they found institutions different from those under which they had suffered. Of course there were many exceptions, but, as a whole, the element which maintained its sympathy with British ideas of government and its loyalty to the Crown now showed a tendency to stay in the Provinces, and thus help to deepen the foundation so well laid by the original Loyalists.

Improved educational facilities also began to perform a great work. At the Union of the Canadas in 1841 a measure was passed reorganising the Common Schools, authorising the establishment of Separate Schools for Protestants in Lower Canada and for Roman Catholics in Upper Canada, and creating a basis for the national system of public instruction which it was hoped would be evolved. In 1844 the Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson—the eloquent Methodist preacher, successful denominational editor and powerful political pamphleteer to whom the Province owes what England does to Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth or New England to Horace Mann—was appointed Chief Superintendent of Education

in Upper Canada. After visits to other countries and much study of conditions at home and abroad he reconstructed the Provincial system to a degree which makes comparison with the old state of affairs very difficult. The new plan was based upon the best features of the then existing systems in New York and Masssachusetts, Ireland and Germany.* It differed in many points, however, from these or any other organised methods. Religious instruction was provided for and the executive head was to be a non-political and permanent official. Taxation for school purposes was to be voluntary on the part of the municipalities and the use of foreign text-books in the English branches of instruction was forbidden except by special permission. This was, of course, aimed at the multitudinous American works which had crept into the hands of the pupils and for years had afforded instruction inimical to British ideas and principles. Upon this point, and the further requirement that teachers should take the oath of allegiance, Dr. Ryerson stated in his Special Report to the Legislature in 1847 that: "I think less evil arises from the employment of American teachers than from the use of American (school) books. . . . It is not because they are foreign books simply that they are excluded, but because they are, with very few exceptions, anti-British in every sense of the word. They abound in state-

* Mr. J. C. Patterson, now Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, in *Year Book of Canada*, Montreal, 1870.

ments and allusions prejudicial to the character and institutions of the British nation. . . . From facts which have come to my knowledge I believe it will be found, on inquiry, that in precisely those parts of Upper Canada where United States school books had been used most extensively, there the spirit of the insurrection of 1837 and 1838 was most prevalent." Supplies of maps, school apparatus, prizes and library books were to come direct from the Education Department.

The principal Act in this educational connection was that of 1850. Three years later amendments were made affecting the Separate Schools, and again in 1858--60--63. Therein was a fruitful theme of public controversy. A large element in the population wanted no such schools and deemed them undesirable and dangerous, as tending to permanently separate the Province into sections of population trained in different ideals of political and social life, as well as of religious faith. The Catholics, on the other hand, maintained the right to have what their majority in the Lower Province conceded to the Protestants there, and wished to stereotype upon the minds of the young the religious principle and practice which they believed should be the greatest factor in their future life and a first consideration in their early education. In 1863 legislation settled this subject for the time being and constituted a basis for the educational provisions of the British North American Act of 1867. Time has since healed the sores

of religious controversy and removed the causes of friction in this and many similar directions, but during these years Separate Schools constituted a frequent and bitter subject of discussion—especially when George Brown rode into some passing arena of debate upon what, in Canadian politics, has been given the familiar and popular name of the "Protestant Horse." The principle which was pretty generally accepted, by 1867, was a Provincial provision for the education of the youth of all religious persuasions in secular subjects, combined with the arrangement of special facilities by which such religious instruction might be given to the pupils as their parents and pastors desired and provided. In this case the Irish practice was followed, and, outside of the Separate Schools which were established wherever the Catholics were strong enough to do so, the system was generally practised, although it must be said that the religious part of the day's instruction had a tendency to grow more and more attenuated.

Dr. Ryerson's ideal system was one of free public schools and compulsory attendance of pupils. Neither of these principles was he able to make absolute until after Confederation; although electors were given the privilege of making the schools free in their own localities if they so desired, while every effort was made to get the children into the schools. But the great basis of progress in these years was his creation of school districts around which grew up a

local training of the masses in the necessity of education; and the cultivation of consequent willingness to bear taxation for the purpose of its promotion. In 1850 there were 3,476 teachers in Upper Canada with an average attendance of 81,000 pupils; and these figures had grown by 1871 to 5,306 teachers and 188,000 pupils.* There were, in 1867, 161 Separate Schools in the Province with 210 teachers and 18,000 pupils, while the grammar or high schools numbered 103 with 159 teachers and 5,600 pupils. One great difficulty during this period was the obtaining of trained teachers. This trouble had made efficient education almost impossible in the pioneer and formative stages of the country's history, and not until the Normal School was opened at Toronto in 1852, for the special education of teachers, was progress in this direction really marked. Gradually the influence of the institution told and soon hundreds of men and women were leaving its halls to instruct the new generation upon lines in which some method and system were to be found.

Higher education also steadily improved, and, while Upper Canada College held its own for the well-to-do, grammar schools provided for the masses a link between the common schools and the Universities—which eventually evolved out of the struggles of a time when education and denominational religion were as much political issues as the en-

* The Hon. G. W. Ross, Ontario Minister of Education, in *Canada: An Encyclopædia*, vol. 3, p. 175.

largement of the franchise. The militant figure in the fight for this highest element in educational progress was the sturdy and sanguine Bishop Strachan. One great mission of his life had been the maintenance of a connection between State and Church in Canada; the other was the connected ideal of a great Church of England University. It was not until 1843 that the land endowment set aside by the Imperial Government in 1797 for the establishment of such a University was at last successfully utilised by the opening of King's College with the Bishop of Toronto at its head and an Anglican Professor of Divinity in charge of that department. In 1850, however, the forces opposed to Church of England ascendency won the day and the institution was made undenominational and re-christened the University of Toronto. Under the sway of Dr. John McCaul, a brilliant scholar and great Principal, it became a pronounced factor in the educational, social and public life of the Province. Bitterly disappointed as he was, his most cherished ambition apparently crushed, the result of many years of controversy and labour neutralised, the Bishop refused to give way, and, despite his three score and ten years, rallied his supporters in Canada, went to England and collected further funds from his friends there. In two years Trinity College, Toronto, as a result of his energy and enthusiasm, was an established institution under the guidance of his Church and with beautiful buildings which still remain one

of the academic centres of the Province. Meanwhile Queen's University, Kingston, had come into existence in 1840 as a Presbyterian institution, and Victoria University, Cobourg—the old-time Upper Canada Academy—in 1841 was given wider powers. In 1866 Albert College, Belleville, was made a degree-conferring institution at the instance of the Methodist Episcopal Church, while similar powers were granted to Regiopolis College, Kingston, and to Ottawa College at the Capital, under Roman Catholic auspices. Knox College, Toronto (Presbyterian Free Church), Huron College, London (Church of England), the Canadian Literary Institute, Woodstock (Baptist), St. Michael's College, Toronto (Roman Catholic), the Wesleyan Female College, Hamilton, and the Hellmuth Ladies' College, London, were also established in the later years of this period. It had been a time of intense controversy, in higher as in lower educational circles, and political and denominational considerations had helped greatly to mould or mar the progress which was really being made. As Confederation drew near, however, it found a distinct lessening in the violence and extent of these differences, so far as education was concerned, and the way was being paved for the greater progress which ensued in the national period of Canadian life.

Meantime much had been done elsewhere in educational matters. In Lower Canada, where the rebellion had practically destroyed the school system,

one of the first acts of the united Legislature of 1841 was an attempt at its re-establishment. Jean Baptiste Meilleur was shortly afterwards appointed to superintend the new arrangements, during 1851 School Inspectors were installed, and four years later M. Pierre J. O. Chauveau commenced a career of signal service to his Province and to the intellectual development of the Canadian people by succeeding M. Meilleur as Chief Superintendent—a position which he retained until he became Premier of Quebec in 1867. Under his administration various new and beneficial regulations were made regarding both high and primary education. Three Normal Schools were established, eight Classical Colleges for the training of the clergy were created from time to time, and in 1859 a Council of Public Instruction, composed of eleven Catholics and four Protestants, was established. By 1867 there were 3,712 common schools in the Province with 208,000 scholars, who were maintained at a cost of $728,000—the greater part being paid by the municipalities. M. Chauveau helped also in the formation of a French and English *Journal of Instruction* and in the creation of a pension fund for teachers. In Lower Canada there was comparatively little sectarian strife in this connection, and it stands to the lasting credit of the French and Catholic majority that, as soon as the passions of the pre-Union days had cooled down, an educational system was established which did ample justice to the minority. More than that, there was

little or no effort to curtail Protestant privileges, and in this respect the echo of the campaigns in Upper Canada against religious or sectarian schools was very slight.

Laval University was inaugurated at Quebec in 1854, and some years later formed a branch at Montreal which afterwards became the centre of a prolonged controversy between the extreme elements of thought in the Roman Catholic Church. Both branches of the institution, however, did splendid service to the cause of ecclesiastical higher education and later on to law and medicine in their separate and distinct departments. In 1829 the University of McGill had started in a small way in Montreal through the munificence of the Hon. James McGill of that city. It was intended to be the centre of the Protestant educational interests of the Province, but until 1855, when Sir William Dawson first took hold of the College, its life was a scene of struggle and doubtful service. After that time, under the control of this singularly able educationalist, scientist and writer, the University grew in power and prosperity. Bequests were left to it and presents made, from time to time, amounting to millions of dollars; and libraries, buildings, scientific collections, departments of teaching and professorial chairs were added until it became the foremost University in British America and perhaps upon the whole continent. By 1867 it was well on the way towards this position,

and the affiliation, between 1860 and the former date, of seven theological colleges of different denominations helped greatly. In 1843 the Church of England institution, Bishop's College, Lennoxville, had been started, and this also assisted in the development of Protestant education generally in the Province. It had not been an easy task in Lower Canada to arouse an interest in educational matters. Parents were not then ambitious for their children in the manner of later days, and they had around them the effect of dependence upon the semi-religious instruction of the Catholic priests and schools and upon arrangements which might be made for them but not by them. Even in the Upper Province people were not enthusiastic, and it required many years to fully inculcate the principle of co-operation in educational work, as between the taxpayer and the teaching institutions of the Province, and in the general interest of popular progress. To Dawson and Chauveau belong largely the honour of having formed the feeling in Lower Canada which Ryerson and Strachan evolved in other ways in the Upper Province.

In Nova Scotia free schools were established by Act of the Legislature under the Premiership of Dr. (Sir Charles) Tupper in 1864. The number of common and high schools in the Province in that year was 1,112, with 35,000 pupils maintained at a cost of $163,000—two hundred more schools, twenty thousand more expenditure and ten thousand more

pupils than there had been thirteen years before. During the next few years the new system was administered by Dr. Theodore H. Rand, as the old one had been by Dr. Forrester and Dr. (Sir) J. W. Dawson. Under it the Executive Council, or Ministry, constituted the Council of Public Instruction and the Province was divided into eighteen counties, each presided over by an Inspector. There were also 34 districts, each with a Board of Commissioners appointed by the Government. Then there were a large number of sections with elective Trustees. These latter were the most important Boards, and really constituted the popular government of the schools under conditions laid down by the other functionary bodies. In the summer term of 1868 there were 1,598 sections, with fourteen hundred schools and teachers, and seventy-two thousand pupils. By the assessment of these sections nearly three hundred thousand dollars were raised, while the County funds and Provincial grants produced two hundred and fifty thousand more. This was indeed a different state of affairs from the universal lethargy and indifference which had been shown in the early forties. Higher education had meantime been developed by County Academies, or high schools, of which there were ten in 1868, and by colleges and universities which had been started and maintained largely as a result of sectarian rivalry. Dalhousie University, after a season of collapse, was revived in 1863. St. Francis Xavier College was

established in 1854 as a Roman Catholic institution; while Acadia and King's College maintained a somewhat struggling existence by the support of their respective denominations.

In New Brunswick a Committee was appointed to investigate the condition of the schools, in 1845, and, two years later, as a result of their Report to the Legislature regarding the public apathy and the evils of cheap itinerant teachers, an Act of reorganisation was passed which formed a Board of Education, granted aid to teachers, constituted school districts and created a Normal School at Fredericton. In 1852 amendments were made and other improvements effected—amongst them the appointment of a Chief Superintendent of Education. The Rev. James Porter, J. Marshal D'Avray and Henry Fisher held the position in turn up to 1860 and Dr. John Bennett during the ensuing eleven years. Free schools were not created until after Confederation and Separate Schools were still allowed. In the summer term of 1868 there were 861 schools, 881 teachers and 31,000 scholars, with a Provincial expenditure of forty-two thousand dollars and a municipal expenditure of fifty-seven thousand. Prince Edward Island adopted free schools in 1852, established a Normal School four years later and the Prince of Wales College in 1860. Little was done in the North-West during this period except the reorganisation of St. John's School, in 1866, by the present Archbishop Machray. In British Columbia the limited popu-

lation of Vancouver Island was given free schools by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1855, but owing to political complications and changes the system was practically inoperative by 1868 and educational matters generally remained in a very crude and unsatisfactory state.

Religious progress throughout the country in the years following the early forties was very great. In the large towns it was marked to the eye by little wooden structures being transformed into handsome brick churches, while more and more frequently edifices of stone were found gracing the streets of cities like Montreal or Toronto. With the growth of Colleges in the English Provinces, home-trained ministers of the different denominations came to fill the pulpits, while in Lower Canada a still higher grade of culture and more complete code of ecclesiastical education emanated from its numerous religious seminaries and colleges. The wandering missionary gradually gave way to the clergyman in his settled parish or to the minister in charge of a single congregation in village, town or populous municipality. The itinerant Methodist preacher was given a longer stationary term, and it was only in the back regions or in the Western wilds, where there was still ample room for missionary efforts, that one could now witness the magnificent and strenuous work of the pioneer preacher. Gradually, too, the various denominations became more or less self-supporting. The great missionary societies of the Old

Land were no longer called upon for the ordinary support of congregations or parishes, and only in special cases of loss, or of proposed building operations, was direct assistance asked. With the final settlement of the Clergy Reserves self-support became the motto of Church of England parishes as well as of Methodist congregations, and, though the process was a somewhat slow one and funds for many years continued to come from varied sources in Great Britain, yet by 1867 the principle of self-help was not only a pious aspiration but, in all the populous parts of the English Provinces, an accepted fact.

Equality in ecclesiastical conditions and functions and opportunities, coupled with the growth of popular democracy of a somewhat new type and the influx of a population which in the United Kingdom had been composed more of Dissenters than of Churchmen, rendered the progress of the Methodist denomination during this period the most marked. From two hundred and eighty thousand in all the Provinces, in 1851, its adherents rose to four hundred and fifty thousand in 1861 and to nearly six hundred thousand in 1871. The eloquence of preachers like Ryerson, Richey, Punshon, Douglas and Carman had something to do with this result; the ministration of enthusiastic pioneer itinerants like Case, Ryan, Black, Reynolds, Davison and Richardson had immense influence; while the practice of putting young men through periods of probationary preaching before admission to the Ministry created a fund

of constant and earnest labour. No class distinctions troubled these men, and they came from farms or villages, entered and passed through College, and finally returned to work in similar farms or villages, amongst people whom they knew and understood. This was a great and little apprehended advantage. They rarely preached over the heads of the listeners, and, as a rule, and often to the verge of extravagance in diction or style, tried to preach down to their hearts. The early difficulties arising out of international alliances and suspected disloyalty disappeared entirely in the forties, and, as time passed, union amongst themselves became a watchword which after Confederation made the principle a realised fact. The Canadian Wesleyan Church and the New Connection Methodists joined together in 1841 and the Wesleyan Conference and the Eastern District were united in 1854. But these were really only preliminary to the great union of 1874. Mission work was undertaken in the North-West, and in 1854 the British Conference gave up its missions in the Hudson's Bay Territory to the Wesleyan Conference of Canada.

A very different duty and position from that of Methodism were those assumed and still maintained by the Church of England. In the history of the Provinces during the century the Church had been the mother of religious ceremony and function, while its ministers had been at the heart of every good work and the sharers in every form of privation

and suffering. From the Mother-land came steady streams of money and men to help the labours of its scattered missionaries and the building of its churches and parsonages. Nor did this process cease when the political storms of the thirties had blown over British America. But, unfortunately, the Church became connected, in the minds of the population which did not belong to it, with a dominant political party which they hated, and its religious extension was injured by the growth of its political influence. To many minds—though falsely so because the central feature of its ministrations is their application to all—the Church of England became the Church of a class. And it never benefited very greatly by the much-denounced Clergy Reserves. The Rectories established by Sir J. Colborne were an exception, and the moneys which finally came to the Church therefrom between 1841 and 1854 were certainly of some assistance. But perhaps they did more good than harm by sapping that voluntary principle amongst Churchmen which has so greatly helped the Established Church at home. A complete and well-maintained State Church in the early and struggling days of a scattered community might and would have been a good thing despite any change the future might have brought about; but, as it was, the Church of England in this country possessed the political odium, and at times the social assumption emanating from an Establishment, without the advantages which would

have minimised those faults and magnified immensely its opportunity and capacity for good. However that may be, the Church in 1851 had some three hundred and forty thouand adherents in the Provinces which, in 1861, had increased to four hundred and seventy thousand and, in 1871, to five hundred thousand. Many were the splendid men produced by the Church during these years. Bishops like Mountain, Williams, Medley, Anderson, Strachan, Cronyn, Burney and Machray left a lasting mark upon the history of the period—not the least striking feature of which was the missionary work done in the North-West. There, under privations and sufferings as great as those in the Canadas during the first years of the century, missions were established and maintained by men such as Taylor, Cochrane and Cook. Money poured into the region from the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, while, despite the growing financial independence of many parishes, the total expenditure of the Societies in British America as a whole was well maintained, and between 1842 and 1865 amounted, in the case of the S.P.G. alone, to over two millions of dollars. In British Columbia much work was done, many missions established and a Diocese organised.

The Church of Rome had some of the qualities of both the Methodist and Anglican denominations. Its adherents were as enthusiastic in their religious allegiance as any Methodist and as indifferent to

class distinctions and customs. At the same time it was emphatically the Church of ceremony, and in this respect far outshone the Church of England. Moreover it held the historic faith of the French-Canadians, and amongst them so thoroughly maintained its ground that by 1871 it had a million followers in Lower Canada alone. Education during the period between the Rebellion and Confederation was not in that Province a subject of violent denominational and political conflict; it was rather a powerful established fact in the strongest ecclesiastical sense. Nor was the position of the Church in Lower Canada a subject of serious dispute. It was the Church of the vast majority, and by tithe and land grants and capable business management it was really a State Establishment in the fullest sense of the word. Into the other Provinces it was able to pour numbers of priests—trained and educated men who were free to take advantage of every changing current of immigration and settlement—and the result was that a Roman Catholic total population of a million in British America in 1851 had become, in 1861, one million four hundred thousand and, in 1871, a million and a half. The mission work of the Church was carried into the North-West and away to the Pacific Coast. A Diocese had long been estabished at St. Boniface, on the Red River, under Bishop Provencher and, in 1853, he was succeeded by Father Taché—whose name as Bishop, Archbishop and citizen is enshrined in all the history

of those vast regions. A Cathedral of stone was built in 1860 upon the banks of the River, while missionaries of the Church were everywhere to be found amongst Indians, Half-breeds and casual settlers. So, in British Columbia, where churches, hospitals, asylums, schools and colleges sprang up under the auspices of the Church and the steady spread of its principles. Bishop Taché of St. Boniface, Archbishop Turgeon of Quebec, Archbishop Connolly of Halifax, Bishop de Charbonnel of Toronto, and Bishop Demers of Vancouver Island were perhaps the principal names of the period in an ecclesiastical sense, while the most striking general features were the labours of the pioneer priests in the far West and the gradual building up, all through Lower Canada, of a myriad handsome stone or brick churches—to such an extent that the spire of the church glittering in the rays of the sun, and the villages nestling around its doors, became interchangeable facts.

In the population of Provinces where so many Scotchmen were settled it was inevitable from the beginning that Presbyterianism must become a religious and political power. The Kirk of Scotland shared with the Church of England everywhere such *prestige* as might surround an Established religious body, but without, as a whole, experiencing the same violence of political criticism and antagonism. It benefited more than the Methodists or Catholics in the not very large returns from the

Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada. But at the same time it participated in the difficulties and discussions of the Establishment at home much as the Canadian Church of England did in the controversies over matters of ceremonial in England. When the Disruption came in Scotland it was followed by a similar movement in the various British Provinces, and for a time there was disintegration rather than union. Then the reverse operation commenced in 1860 by the union of the Synods in Nova Scotia, and was continued by the union of the Free and United Presbyterian Synods of Canada as the Canada Presbyterian Church. Not till after Confederation, however, was this development completed. Meantime much was done for missions to growing portions of the older Provinces, although the help given to the Rev. Dr. John Black in his pioneer labours in the North-West was not such as he wished and asked for. In British Columbia the Church of Scotland did an important work for years without much help from the Provincial Churches. French-Canadian evangelisation was a work vigorously entered into—especially by the Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland. Principal MacVicar and Professor Conssirat of the Presbyterian College in Montreal were the most energetic workers in this movement. The historic names of Canadian Presbyterianism during this period include those of Alexander Mathieson, John Cook, William Leitch, William Ormiston, William Reid, Robert

Ferrier Burns, Alexander Topp and William Gregg. These, with many other earnest, strong-minded and sincere men, formed a body of learning and religious zeal which did much to advance the denomination, numerically, from three hundred and sixty thousand in 1851 to four hundred and sixty thousand in 1861 and to five hundred and seventy thousand in 1871.

Summarising this progress, it will be seen that, in the two decades, the Church of Rome in the five Provinces increased by half a million, the Methodists of all shades of belief by three hundred and twenty thousand, the Presbyterians of all sections by over two hundred thousand and the Church of England by one hundred and sixty thousand. The Baptists were the only other denomination which held a prominent place during the period, and this was owing more to the political ability of individuals and the united opposition of the body to all religious discriminations than to its numbers.

Intimately associated with education and religion in the life of the time was the progress of journalism and literature; and in no other branch of their development did the Provinces show more distinctly the racial division than in this. French Canada excelled during these years in newspapers which brought all the froth and foam characteristic of French moments of passion to the surface, while it at the same time produced a school of brilliant and educated journalists and *litterateurs* to which the other Provinces could offer no fair analogue. Poli-

ticians, poets, students, and even Churchmen took to journalism. Bédard, Papineau, Morin, Garneau, Ribaud, Parent, of pre-rebellion days, and the famous *Le Canadien* gave place to men like Cauchon, Blanchet, Bellemare, Laflamme, Doutre, Langevin, Duvernay, Gérin-Lajoie and those remarkable Dorion brothers who were in turn politicians, journalists, annexationists, republicans, lawyers and judges, yet always brilliant and always foremost. Novelists like De Gaspé, educational writers like Chauveau and Meilleur, historians such as Garneau, exercised wide influence, while a myriad figures, of less importance but always bright and clever, flashed across the surface of some fiery agitation and, like many of the newspapers, passed from view with meteoric suddenness. English journalism and literature in Lower Canada did not flourish to any great extent, on account of its limited constituency. But John Neilson, Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Francis Hincks combined politics and journalism, while other familiar names were those of John Lowe, Brown Chamberlain, John Reade, Daniel Tracey and David Kinnear. William Smith and Robert Christie did some good historical work. In Upper Canada George Brown wielded all the power of a free and forceful pen, guided by a vehement and sometimes vindictive will. Thomas White, afterwards a Minister of the Crown in the Dominion of Canada, David McCulloch, Thomas Dalton, James Lesslie, William McDougall, George Sheppard, Daniel Mor-

rison, Hugh Scobie, John Cameron, Samuel Thompson and James Beaty were leading journalists of this period, while Dr. Alpheus Todd, Henry J. Morgan and Fennings Taylor were perhaps the chief representatives of a literary activity which was more marked during many years by a rushing stream of popular pamphlets than by the deep river of a lasting literature. Dr. Egerton Ryerson and Bishop Strachan were the representatives of a semi-religious and semi-political pamphleteering school. The fact really is that the axe of the settler, the river rafts of the lumberman, the canoe of the *voyageur,* the musket of the hunter, the work of the plough and the whistle of the steam-engine and the steamship still monopolised the main attention of the people. But towards the middle of the "sixties" the light of a slowly evolving literature began to illumine and promote the sentiment of unity and to prepare itself for the progress of the following decades.

The journalism of the Maritime Provinces centres around the name and fame of Joseph Howe. Great as an orator he was equally so as a journalist. Associated with the pen in either one or other of the Provinces by the sea in this period were William Annand, S. H. Holmes, T. W. Anglin, William Elder and J. V. Ellis—all afterwards prominent in politics. Literature evolved the phenomenal figure of Thomas Chandler Haliburton—historian, humorist, lawyer, politician and judge. Under his

nom de plume of "Sam Slick" he became the most widely known Canadian of his day and the founder of a distinct school of fiction which in later times was appropriated as a type by the United States. Around him gathered other Maritime writers, chiefly of an historical character, such as Beamish Murdoch, Duncan Campbell, Abraham Gesner and Andrew Archer. In far-away British Columbia a newspaper was started in 1858, and thereafter a succession of shifting journals came and went with all the apparent speed of the mining population which read them. To Amor de Cosmos, a typical Pacific Coast pioneer and politician, and later on to D. W. Higgins, belong perhaps the chief journalistic laurels of the period. Local literature was non-existent. In the North-West a paper was started in 1859 and held a feeble and fluctuating place during the following decade. Not until the early "seventies" did the region boast a stable and influential journal. Meanwhile many monthly journals or magazines were started, but only two lasting and fairly successful ones—the *Literary Garland* and the *Revue Canadienne*—and these were in Montreal. Various efforts were made to establish journals after the style of *Punch*, but they all had an ephemeral existence. Passing for a moment from journalism to literature, it must be said that poetry constituted the most marked feature in the general progress of these years. French-Canada teemed with more or less clever writing of this kind, and in

its English branch the names of Charles Heavysege, Charles Sangster, Alexander McLachlan, William Kirby and John Reade occupy a high place.

One of the most important popular developments of this period was the Militia force. Education might train the mind, religion might mould the morals, and literature might instruct the thought of the people while journalism voiced their political passions, but nothing could at once so influence and embody public patriotism as the inception and progress of the Volunteer principle. Prior to 1841 the militia in all the Provinces had been a mere adjunct of the local British troops. When required for active service the training and drilling were willingly received and the expenses paid, in the main, by the Imperial Government. But there was no militia in the modern sense of the word—organised upon a volunteer basis, permanent in its composition and supported by the people or Government of the individual Provinces. With the granting and acceptance of responsible government, however, there came the necessity of establishing a local defence force as the first of all free or semi-national duties. In 1855 an Act of the Legislature of the Canadas provided for the enrolment of an active militia of 5,000 men. During the next few years the maintenance of this force—which grew to 11,000 in 1861—averaged about $145,000 out of a revenue of nearly ten million dollars. In 1863 the force was raised to 25,000 men and maintained at

that figure through the trials of the Fenian period and until Confederation. From 1760 to 1841 Great Britain had directed all the militia as well as the military affairs of British America and had controlled them in part from the latter date to 1855. After that time, so far as Canada was concerned, the Province bore its own militia charges, while the Mother Country maintained the military works and the requirements of the regular army which might be stationed there—or elsewhere in British America. Meanwhile, military schools were established in the Provinces and the volunteer spirit everywhere developed upon a basis not dissimilar to that existing in the Province of Canada. The French-Canadian as well as the English-Canadian, the settler upon the shores of the Atlantic and upon the banks of the Georgian Bay, learned to bear arms and practise military movements for the possible protection of a common flag and principle of allegiance. No stronger influence, in fact, was evolved in all this period for the welding together of the people than the rise and success of the volunteer movement and its practical expression in the Fenian troubles of 1866.

Popular progress in other directions was not so marked unless it were in the discussions upon tariff issues which followed upon the protective policy adopted by the Hon. A. T. Galt in 1858, as Inspector-General or Finance Minister of Canada. In this controversy Isaac Buchanan took a vigorous

part, and the economic question aroused a public interest greater than even the repeal of the Corn Laws had caused in the Provinces and became one which was destined to be a permanent and prominent factor in their future life. British merchants and manufacturers protested, the Colonial Office objected, the United States grumbled, but the tariff for protection had come to stay, and the principle of fiscal freedom in local affairs was maintained as strenuously by Alexander Tilloch Galt as freedom in political matters had been fought for by Baldwin or Lafontaine. Another important element in political and popular growth, municipal institutions, had progressed greatly in Upper Canada, fairly in Lower Canada and very slightly in the Maritime Provinces. In the Upper Province there were in 1866 only two unorganised districts; all the rest of the counties enjoyed complete self-government, together with five cities and six towns. The total assessment of real estate was two hundred and thirty million dollars as against one hundred and sixty millions in Lower Canada; the number of acres assessed were respectively eighteen millions and thirteen millions; and the number of ratepayers two hundred and ninety thousand and two hundred thousand. The people in every city, town, village and township elected persons to represent them in Councils which had the power to borrow money, or raise it by direct taxation, and of expending it on roads, bridges and other local improvements. Then these

various bodies—excluding City Councils—were again represented in the County Councils for the control of somewhat wider interests. The system did good service to the community, although in times of public excitement, such as that of the railway-mania period, the Councils were apt to be led into extravagances and the creation of undue liabilities. But these popular bodies trained the public mind in the details as well as principles of self-government and secured a stable basis for the wider and higher application of the theory. Had they been earlier organised the Rebellion might never have taken place, and the foolish effort which was made to begin at the top of a political structure and work down would never have been attempted.

Another important evolution of this period was the growth of the centres of population. Montreal in 1861 had become a town of ninety thousand people, Quebec of fifty thousand, Toronto of forty-four thousand, St. John of twenty-seven thousand, Halifax of twenty-five thousand. Hamilton, Ottawa and London, which in 1841 were little more than villages, had grown into cities and Kingston had become a place of thirteen thousand people. The pioneer stage had indeed gone and been replaced by centres where the comforts and customs of the older civilisation in the Mother-land were gradually becoming the possession of the many as well as the few. There was still, as Mr. Goldwin Smith once said, much that was "rough, raw and

democratic" in the community—the latter quality indeed was being stereotyped into the institutions and habits of the people—but time and progress was steadily working out the result which to-day gives us a population in much of the Dominion which is neither English nor American in type but purely Canadian. In social life and conditions a great change had taken place everywhere except in Lower Canada. There the Church remained the reverenced mentor of the people and constituted the mould in which was stamped their personal characteristics and customs. The Seigneur had lost his feudal power but still retained in the main the respect of the masses. Habits had not changed nor manners altered from the earlier part of the century; although Montreal had become a great commercial centre and was developing a wealthy though not critical, or perhaps greatly cultured, society. That was to come in another period. Social equality in the English Provinces was largely a fact, but it was not extreme nor was it republican in tendency. Above all the farm was still the backbone of popular life, and the young men of the country had not commenced to rush to the larger centres of population with the fallacious hope of greater ease, or with foolish ambitions for the glittering bauble of some showy career or "respectable" profession. Of course there were many exceptions, but the feverish haste and hurry of a later time had not yet made agriculture a pursuit to be apparently shunned, or at least neglected, by the young.

Art in British America had made a beginning. The romance and marvellous changing landscape of Indian life had attracted Paul Kane and produced a career of constant travel through the vast North-West and a series of valuable paintings. Daniel Fowler and George Theodore Berthon in Upper Canada, Cornelius Kreighoff and Theophilé Hamel in Lower Canada, and Newton Gush and Valentine in the Maritime Provinces, laboured in various fitful ways to create and respond to artistic tastes. Portraits were the chief subject of their brushes, and many really excellent ones to-day adorn the Government Houses and public buildings of the different Provinces. Scenery was yet to come as a subject for artistic Canadian treatment, though local appreciation of this branch of culture has never been what its importance deserves. As with literature, so with art, the culture of the community was still too limited and crude to permit of great development. But, in both, something good had been done and added rungs surmounted in the ladder of national life.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ESTABLISMENT OF THE DOMINION.

Many causes combined to make the Confederation of the British American Provinces, in 1867, possible and desirable. The government of the United Provinces of Canada had become a structure based on shifting sand. By 1864, owing largely to the racial and religious rivalries of the people, no Government could obtain a working majority. Projects for material development, plans for strengthening the country against foreign aggression, proposals for obtaining a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty with the States, became little more than the shuttlecocks of faction. Dissolution followed dissolution, Government succeeded Government, reorganisations and resignations seemed the natural order of things, while session after session of the Legislature proved nothing more than stormy interludes to periods of Executive impotence. Responsible government had apparently brought the country to a position such as that to which irresponsible government was declared to have dragged it in 1837. The great difference, however, was the absence of

any element of actual disloyalty in the community of the "sixties."

The result of this state of affairs was a meeting brought about by the late Alexander Morris between the two great rival leaders, John A. Macdonald and George Brown, and the formation of a coalition Government on June 30th, 1864, with the object and aim of confederating the Provinces of British America. Sir Etienne P. Taché was the nominal Premier, though Mr. Macdonald in whatever Government he might be was the real one, and with those three leaders were George E. Cartier, A. T. Galt, Alexander Campbell, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, J. C. Chapais, H. L. Langevin and James Cockburn—all Conservatives—and Oliver Mowat (for a short time), William McDougall and W. P. Howland, who with Mr. Brown constituted the Liberal element. Meantime the Maritime Provinces had been considering the subject of union in a general way, though not as a relief from deadlock or partisan disquiet. Nor was the proposition which the Legislatures of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island approved in 1864 a federal union. It was in reality a union of their various Legislatures for purposes of combined and economical Government. A Conference had been arranged in this connection to meet at Charlottetown, P.E.I., and, within a couple of months of the formation of the coalition Government in Canada, Delegates from the Maritime Provinces discussing this subject of

union down by the sea received a request from Canada for permission to join the Conference and gladly consented.

Leading up to this general result there had been other and perhaps more influential causes than discord in the Canadas and a vague desire for closer union in the other Provinces. To the south of these weak and scattered British populations there was now a victorious and united Republic with a million men recently in arms and seeking new worlds to conquer. The shadow of bitter suspicion regarding the attitude of Britain and Canada during the Civil War had developed into a storm-cloud of contemptuous hostility which not only promised the certain abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in a year or two; but threatened, in the projected Fenian invasion, to destroy the peace and security of all the Provinces. The first of these probabilities, under conditions of commercial interchange which involved a trade of twenty millions of dollars and had produced a serious dependence upon American transportation routes, while very largely combining the common banking interests of the two countries, seemed to threaten the very foundations of existing prosperity. In the second were the evident seeds of war and the consequent insecurity of property, investment and business. In 1812 the governing power and authority of the Imperial Executive had given the scattered dependencies a species of unity which in 1864 did not exist and without which they

could have been bent and broken like a bundle of loose sticks. Moreover, even the kindliness of the neighbouring Republic was dangerous in those times. The chief American argument in favour of the abrogation of the Treaty—which it was so mistakenly believed would ruin the Provinces—was that the action might coerce them into accepting annexation. On the other hand the chief reason given in the United States for continuing the arrangement was that conciliation and the continuous growth of common interests would attain the same end with even greater certainty. Back of these important influences and considerations was the wise and consistent pressure of the Mother Country, based upon anxiety to see the Provinces organised and united—if for no other purpose than their mutual defence.

It was natural, under this internal and external pressure, that first the public men and then the public itself should begin to seriously discuss Confederation. The idea had long lived in the minds of leaders and at intervals found expression in historic correspondence, in the eloquent peroration of a speech, or as the embodiment of some patriotic dream. Governor Hutchinson and Chief Justice William Smith had proposed it with a view to averting the American Revolution. Chief Justice Sewell and H.R.H. the Duke of Kent had elaborated schemes upon paper with enthusiastic care. Sir John Beverley Robinson and Bishop Strachan in days of Loyalist and Tory supremacy had suggested

it to the British Government. Gourlay and Mackenzie had favoured it in somewhat crude form as a possible solution in their day of existing difficulties. Lord Durham and the Upper Canada Assembly and Council had all favoured the idea, in a more or less tentative way, during the days of reconstruction which followed the Rebellion. John A. Macdonald, from the early period of his political life, and notably at Montreal in 1851, had seen the great possibilities which it involved. From time to time politicians like George R. Young and James W. Johnston in Nova Scotia, Hamilton Merritt and Henry Sherwood in Upper Canada, or J. H. Gray in New Brunswick, had urged it upon public attention. It had been therefore the occasional dream of Tories and Radicals alike. It had been supported in England by men of such opposite views as the Earl of Durham and the Earl of Derby—the one-time Tory Premier. It was John A. Macdonald's proposed remedy for the fiscal and political and annexationist troubles of 1849, as it was his suggested solution of the difficulties of fifteen years later.

The first really practical steps were taken in 1857 when the Nova Scotia Government under the leadership of Messrs. Johnston and Tupper pressed the matter upon the consideration of the Imperial Ministry. In the following year the Hon. A. T. Galt spoke strongly in favour of the policy at meetings in Sherbrooke and Toronto and during a debate in the Canadian Legislature. When, therefore, the

Macdonald-Cartier Government, soon afterwards, included him amongst its members the action marked one of the first significant evidences of what was coming. But this was not all. In closing the Session of 1858 the Governor-General, Sir Edmund W. Head, announced his intention of communicating with the Imperial and other Colonial Governments on the subject. "I am desirous," he said, "of inviting them to discuss with us the principles on which a bond of a federal character, uniting the Provinces of British North America, may perhaps hereafter be practical." Shortly afterwards Messrs. George E. Cartier, John Ross and A. T. Galt were sent to England to urge upon the Imperial Government the appointment of Delegates from the Provinces to discuss the subject. No immediate action was taken, as the Colonial Office naturally did not wish to assume such direct responsibility, but when a little later Delegates from Nova Scotia again brought up the matter, Mr. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton), the Colonial Secretary, informed them that the Government would interpose no obstacles to such a union and that he himself felt that a union of the Maritime Provinces would be especially beneficial. In 1861 the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, declared that any proposals for union, whether partial or complete, would be considered by the Imperial Government "with no other feeling than anxiety to discern and promote any course most conducive to the strength,

the prosperity and the harmony of these British communities."

There is no doubt of the desire which existed in the Mother Country that this policy of union should be successful. It was favoured from various motives. Despite the existing dominance of the Manchester School there were a few statesmen, like Disraeli, who supported it from a far-seeing belief in future Imperial development. There were others, like Palmerston, who favoured it because they were not sure of the future in this respect but hoped in a vague way that good might come out of it. Others, and they were in the majority, such as Molesworth, Roebuck, Adderley and Cornwall Lewis, openly supported Confederation because, as the last named said, in July, 1862, they could "look forward without misapprehension and, I may add, without regret to the time when Canada may become an independent State." And they believed that the union of the Provinces would strengthen them for that eventuality and thus promise to relieve these Radical philosophers, playing at statecraft, of some of the despised responsibilities of Empire. During the succeeding period, and whatever the motive, the Imperial Government did everything possible to further the movement. Newcastle and his successors—Mr. Henry Cardwell and the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos —put all the influence of the Colonial Office at its disposal. In New Brunswick, Lieut.-Governor the Hon. A. H. Gordon visited England in 1865 as an

anti-confederate and returned favourable to the policy.* In Nova Scotia, Sir R. G. Macdonell, who was known to oppose federation, was replaced in the same year by General Sir W. F. Williams who had definite instructions to advance the scheme in every possible way.

All that was possible through the medium of favourable despatches, sympathising Governors and even by the friendly pressure of social kindness was done. The latter was something new. Colonial visitors in England during the earlier years of Canadian history had been received and treated too often as poor relations are sometimes received at the ancestral home—with courteous coldness and polite indifference. The scheme of union was, therefore, serving a double purpose in bringing the Provinces closer to one another and at the same time making them known in the Mother-land as growing states with a possibly great and loyal future. The Confederation of British America was, in fact, the first and foremost nail in the coffin of the Imperial disintegrationist school. And not the least of the Imperial influences which made for Provincial Union during these years was that of Lord Monck. He used without hesitation all the *prestige* of his position as Governor-General—powers which were then greater than they have since been—for the furtherance of the policy. The Lieutenant-Governors felt

* *History of Confederation*, by the Hon. John Hamilton Gray, p. 335.

the weight of his views, and politicians were very conscious of them. Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, afterwards Premier of the Dominion, has written of the "share he had in bringing influence to bear on the Governments of some of the Provinces and possibly on individuals;" * and Sir John Macdonald has more than once borne witness to his ability and enthusiasm in the same connection. Yet Lord Monck was never really popular in Canada. He became mixed up in some unfortunate way with the Manchester School doctrines and, by hinting upon one occasion at a future of complete independence for the united Provinces, injured his reputation in a manner which no evidence of statecraft could overcome at the time.

Meanwhile the motives for supporting Confederation in the Provinces were even more varied than they were amongst statesmen at home. J. W. Johnston of Nova Scotia, inheritor of loyal Tory traditions and beliefs regarding the value of British institutions, declared himself in favour of the policy (1851) in order to "perpetuate for all time to come the character, name, honour and institutions of the country of which we are all proud to form a part." P. S. Hamilton of the same Province looked upon it as paving the way to a wider Empire federation (1855). John Hamilton Gray of New Brunswick (1856) thought "it would become necessary in

* *Life of George Brown*, by Alexander Mackenzie, Toronto, 1882, p. 96.

order to check the republicanism of the one section in the Province of Canada and the radicalism of the other by an infusion of the determined loyalty of the truly British Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia." Alexander Morris of Upper Canada, in a series of important lectures, afterwards published in book form, favoured the policy in order to bring about a fusion of races, a union with the far West and a future railway to the Pacific (1858). Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a one-time rebel in days of Irish sorrow and starvation, but now for many years a thoroughly loyal Irish-Canadian of marvellous eloquence, declared at St. John in July, 1864, that there were before the public men of British America only two courses: "To drift with the tide of democracy or to seize the golden moment and fix for ever the monarchical character of our institutions." Some supported the idea because the separated Provinces were menaced by American aggressiveness; others because the fragments of British population might otherwise eventually succumb to the continuous pressure of the much-feared and ever-present shadow of American democracy—as evidenced in its influence upon the literature, customs, schools, press and politics of the Provinces. Some favoured it as a means of overpowering that French influence which George Brown felt to be and denounced as such baleful domination; others because it would enlarge and purify the whole cramped field of Provincial politics and make a

cohesive community out of still scattered settlements. A few had dim visions of a great future for the distant West; some had shadowy hopes of a national independence guarded by British friendship and embodying a sort of Colonial offspring of the Manchester School; a very few felt that Confederation might lead, through independence, to Annexation. But the great mass of the people and politicians supported it in order to strengthen the Provinces—first in their Government through cohesion and centralisation, and next in their organised power to resist extraneous pressure whether political, commercial or military.

Opposition came from different sources and varied motives. M. Joly de Lotbinière, during the Confederation debates of 1865 in the Canadian Legislature, opposed the scheme primarily and vehemently because it had been recommended by men like Sewell, Robinson and Durham, whose "avowed object it was to obliterate French-Canadian nationality." The Hon. A. A. Dorion, leader of the Lower Canadian Liberals, a man of courteous and charming character, a fluent master of both languages and a speaker of deft gentleness and pure diction, opposed it because the appointment by the Crown of the Governor-General, the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces, the members of the Senate and of the Legislative Councils, and the Speakers of the Upper Houses, would put immense power in the hands of Downing Street and indirectly make the Provincial

Governments mere satellites of the central star at Ottawa. He and others failed even yet to grasp the full significance and scope of a responsible governmental system which would eventually mould forms and institutions into an unwritten constitution controlled in all essential points by the Cabinet of the new Confederation—and indirectly by the people. The Hon. L. H. Holton, a Liberal leader from Montreal, denounced the measure as revolution, and an unnecessary revolution. It was to him "a crude, immature and ill-considered scheme," leading to untold expenditures for the Intercolonial Railway and for defence, and threatening the country generally with "a period of calamities" such as it had never before known. The Hon. Christopher Dunkin, afterwards famous in connection with certain temperance legislation in the Dominion, made the most exhaustive and elaborate of all the speeches against Confederation. He believed the measure would lead to disunion instead of union; that the rivalries of Upper and Lower Canada would shatter the paper ties of federation; that eventually the Provinces would separate, under such a system, from the British Empire. He considered the proposed Senate useless as a Federal check upon legislation and harmful as being based upon no form of public opinion. The difficulties in the construction of a Federal Cabinet he deemed insurmountable while sectional influences would in any case soon lead, in his opinion, to a Federal deadlock. There would be un-

limited confusion in legal and judicial matters as between the Federal and Provincial Governments; the expenditures on great railways and western expansion projects would bankrupt the Union; while the attempt to combine the differing political ideas and principles of the Provinces would cause "enormous jobbery and corruption." Some of these fears were not unreasonable. The fact is that if the proposed union gave unlimited scope for optimism and the higher elements of patriotic aspiration it also afforded ample room for pessimism and the natural narrowness of view which is to be found in all small communities.

It is interesting and important in this connection to notice how one man dominated the private consideration and the public discussions of this question as he had for two decades, in greater or lesser degree, controlled the political and chameleon-like changes of the day. "John A.," as he was popularly known at this time throughout the Canadas, and in some measure down by the sea, was the greatest man that British America has produced. Migrating with his father from Scotland when a very young child, Sir John A. Macdonald grew up among the people and of the people. A Tory from youth up, his politics crystallised gradually into a moderate and mellowed Conservatism which enabled him to grasp the skirts of fortune and adjust in time the disintegrating atoms of early Toryism and early Liberalism into a party which he believed

to combine the distinctive British tendencies of the former with the progressive policy of the latter. No man in Canadian history has been more publicly abused; no leader in Canadian life has been so personally loved. He was in the highest sense of the word a political opportunist, but, whether consistent or otherwise in small matters, there was one great principle—that of Imperial unity—which he stood by from the days of his earliest political manifesto to the time of his last declaration to the people: "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die." He was always far-seeing in policy. In 1849 he favoured Colonial Federation, in the later fifties he supported Colonial Protection, in the early sixties he suggested closer Imperial Union. He possessed neither a commanding presence nor what is generally called eloquence. But his mobile and expressive face, his pleasant manner and easy gestures, his amusing stories and clever treatment of opponents, his marvellous memory for names and faces and detail, his knowledge of human nature and perennial geniality, his quick perception and perfect genius for statecraft and political combination, made him easily the chief of British statesmen upon this continent. When, therefore, Confederation became a living issue he naturally presided over the Quebec Conference and the succeeding one in London, was the recognised leader of the movement here and in England, the only one who received in 1867 the honour of knighthood,

and the inevitable first Prime Minister of the New Dominion.

Yet Sir John Macdonald could have done little without George Brown, George E. Cartier, S. L. Tilley and Charles Tupper. His genius was shown in compelling the co-operation of Liberals such as Brown and Tilley; in winning the devotion of leaders so strong in their own Provinces as Cartier and Tupper. His personal relations with Brown were so bitter—this was the almost single exception to a rule in which political enemies were usually his personal friends—that the two leaders were not on speaking terms before the coalition of 1864 and relaspsed into the same state after Brown had retired from the Cabinet. A word here as to the latter's general position. During the year 1858, at a Liberal Convention in Toronto which had been called by himself, he had advocated a federal union of the two Canadas instead of the existing Legislative Union as being a remedy for present evils. But for any further extension of the principle he was not then prepared, as he stated in a letter to the Hon. L. H. Holton of Montreal. In fact he thought they "would be past caring for politics when that measure is finally achieved." In the Session of 1864, however, new light had come and he moved for a Committee to consider Constitutional changes, and, as its Chairman, reported on June 14th in favour of a federative system to be applied either to the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada or to the

whole of British America. The movement at the moment was largely a political one arising out of the weakness of the Taché-Macdonald Ministry, but it constitutes the basis of the claim made by some writers for regarding Mr. Brown as the principal parent of Confederation. The day after the presentation of his Report, the Government was overthrown and the final stage of deadlock was reached, together with the coalition period which made a wider union politically possible. Mr. Goldwin Smith, with the superficiality which usually marks an epigram, has stated that "the parent of Confederation was deadlock," and upon this conclusion a Liberal writer of later days bases his belief that because the deadlock was produced by George Brown the latter was therefore the real father of the policy.* Of much of this political strife Brown had unquestionably been the cause. Honestly and honourably he held certain views regarding Upper Canada and the desirability of its dominance in a racial and religious connection, and for them he fought during many years with an utter disregard of the interests or wishes of the other partner to the Union and of his own personal and political prospects. A stubborn, conscientious leader, an unsparingly vigorous journalist and speaker, and a sincere lover of his Province, he has left an indelible impression upon its history. But it was not in the constructive

* William Buckingham, in *Canada: An Encyclopædia*, vol. 5, p. 205.

sense. Macdonald and he were essentially the antipodes of each other in this particular. The one was great at organisation, construction, conciliation; the other at obstruction, conflict and the advocacy of change.

To the Confederation movement, however, George Brown brought the *prestige* of Liberal leadership in Upper Canada, the element of pronounced Protestantism which had proved so difficult of assimilation with the Catholicism of Lower Canada, and the powerful influence of the *Globe*. Cartier brought his strong personality, his popularity with French-Canadians and a reputation for loyalty to Provincial ideals which enabled him to triumph over the opposition of Dorion and other French Liberals who would not be led by Brown. Galt brought not only his skill and reputation as a financier but also his influence as leader of the Protestant minority in Lower Canada. D'Arcy McGee, who was still a Liberal, and, until the time of the Fenian raids, a force amongst the Irish voters generally, brought his wonderful tongue and skilful pen to aid the cause. Tilley, as the Liberal Premier of New Brunswick, and Tupper, as the Conservative Premier of Nova Scotia, were able to combine at the Charlottetown Conference in receiving the Canadian Delegates; in supporting their proposition for a further and enlarged discussion of the projected Maritime Union; and in adjourning that gathering to meet later at Quebec in order to try and arrange the

details of a wider and wiser British American federation.

The result of this policy was the meeting of Delegates at Quebec on October 10th, 1864, from all the Provinces of British America—including Newfoundland, whose representatives were F. B. T. Carter and Ambrose Shea, and Prince Edward Island, whose Delegates were Colonel Gray, Edward Palmer, W. H. Pope, George Coles, T. H. Haviland, E. Whelan and Andrew A. Macdonald. The Prince Edward Island Delegates, with those from the mainland Provinces, have been commonly known as the "Fathers of Confederation." Those from Canada were Sir Etienne P. Taché, John A. Macdonald, George E. Cartier, William McDougall, George Brown, Alexander T. Galt, Alexander Campbell, Oliver Mowat, H. L. Langevin, T. D'Arcy McGee, James Cockburn and J. C. Chapais. From Nova Scotia came Dr. Charles Tupper, W. A. Henry, Jonathan McCully, Adams G. Archibald and R. B. Dickey. New Brunswick was represented by Samuel Leonard Tilley, John M. Johnston, Peter Mitchell, Charles Fisher, E. B. Chandler, W. H. Steeves and John Hamilton Gray. Out of this Conference came the seventy-two Resolutions which practically constituted the British North America Act of 1867—so far as the terms and conditions of that measure are concerned. But there was a long struggle before complete success came to the policy thus promulgated. The Union Resolutions were adopted

in the Canadian Assembly, in 1865, by 91 to 33 votes and in the Legislative Council by 45 to 85. Fifty-four from Upper Canada and thirty-seven from Lower Canada constituted the favourable vote in the Assembly. After two general elections in New Brunswick and a change of Government, the Resolutions were approved in July, 1866, by good majorities. In Nova Scotia, as in Canada, they were adopted by the Legislature—on the motion of the Hon. Dr. Tupper in the Assembly and by a vote of 31 to 19—without a general election. But the result in the Maritime Province, owing to the antagonism of Joseph Howe, was a prolonged and sometimes dangerous agitation for secession. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland refused to come into the Union, while British Columbia and the North-West were not yet in a sufficiently organised and populated stage to deal with the question. In December, 1866, Delegates from the four Provinces met in London to make final arrangements. Mr. John A. Macdonald was appointed Chairman, and of the Quebec Conference members Messrs. Macdougall, Cartier, Galt, McCully, Tilley, Fisher, Johnston, Mitchell, Archibald, Tupper, Langevin and Henry were also present. The new names amongst the Delegates were those of J. W. Ritchie of Nova Scotia—afterwards Chief Justice of the Dominion—W. P. Howland of Upper Canada and R. D. Wilmot of New Brunswick. The final details were settled, and on the 28th of March, 1867, the

Resolutions, after passing through the Imperial Parliament as the British North America Act, received the Queen's Assent and became the constitution of the new Dominion of Canada on the ensuing First of July. Under the terms of this Federal constitution, or by virtue of British precedent and Canadian practice, the following system was then established or has since evolved:

1. A Governor-General representing the Queen, appointed by the Crown for five years, and holding practically the same place in the Canadian Constitution that the Sovereign does in Great Britain.

2. A Cabinet composed of members of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, who may be chosen from either branch of Parliament, and whose chief is termed the Premier. He is usually leader of the House of Commons as well as leader of his party. The Cabinet must command the support or confidence of a majority in the Commons and was composed at first of twelve Ministers, each in charge of a Department.

3. A Senate whose members are appointed for life by the Governor-General-in-Council. It is composed of 78 members, who must possess a property qualification, be thirty years of age, and British subjects. They receive $1,000 for a Session of thirty days, with travelling expenses.

4. A House of Commons composed of members elected for a maximum period of five years by popular vote—from 1898 under the franchise of the

respective Provinces—and subject to dissolution at the will of the Governor-General. This power is, however, greatly restricted by precedent and practice. There is no property qualification, but members must be twenty-one years of age, British subjects and not disqualified by law. There are in 1899 213 members and the Sessional allowance in $1,000.

5. The Provincial Governments are composed of the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed for a term of five years by the Governor-General-in-Council; the Cabinet or Ministry, composed of departmental officers selected from either House of the Legislature, and often additional members without office; a Legislative Council in Nova Scotia and Quebec composed of members appointed for life by the Provincial Government or Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and in Prince Edward Island elected by the people; and a Legislative Assembly elected for a maximum period of four years by popular vote. In all the Provinces manhood suffrage, limited by residence and citizenship, ultimately became the law, except in Prince Edward Island.

By the terms of the British North America Act the Dominion Parliament was to have control of the general affairs of the Dominion, including matters not specifically delegated to the Provincial authorities. The chief subjects were: The regulation of trade and commerce and the postal system; the public debt, public property, and borrowing of money on public credit; the militia, and all matters con-

nected with the local defence of the country; navigation, shipping, quarantine, and the coast and inland fisheries; currency, coinage, banks, weights and measures, bills and notes, bankruptcy and insolvency; copyright and patents of invention and discovery; Indians, naturalisation laws and aliens; marriage and divorce; customs and excise duties; public works, canals, railways and penitentiaries; criminal law and procedure.

The Provincial Legislatures were to have control of certain specified subjects, including direct taxation within the Province; the borrowing of money on the credit of the Province; the management and sale of public lands locally situated and of the wood and timber thereon; the establishment, maintenance and management of prisons and reformatories, hospitals, asylums and charitable institutions generally; licences to saloons, taverns, shops and auctioneers; the control of certain public works wholly situated within the Province; the administration of justice, including the organisation of Provincial Courts; the control of education and municipal institutions. Under the terms of the Act, Ontario has at the end of the century 92 representatives in the House of Commons, Quebec 65, Nova Scotia 20, New Brunswick 14, Prince Edward Island 5, Manitoba 7, British Columbia 6, and the North-West Territories 4. The basis, according to population, is that of Quebec with its 65 members, and a rearrangement takes place after each decennial

Census. The average population to each representative is now 22,688. On July 1st, 1867, the first Dominion Ministry was formed by Sir John A. Macdonald. His colleagues were the Hon. Alexander Tilloch Galt, Hon. William Macdougall, Hon. George Etienne Cartier, Hon. Samuel Leonard Tilley, Hon. Jean Charles Chapais, Hon. Alexander Campbell, Hon. Peter Mitchell, Hon. William Pearce Howland, Hon. Adam Johnston Fergusson-Blair, Hon. Edward Kenny, Hon. Hector Louis Langevin and Hon. Adams George Archibald.

Following this union of the four older Provinces of British America under the common name of Canada—Upper Canada becoming the Province of Ontario and Lower Canada the Province of Quebec—came the period of continuous territorial expansion necessary in order to complete and render continental in extent this dream of early statesmen. The vast Hudson's Bay Company possessions were purchased by the Dominion in 1869, and on July 15th, 1870, a portion of that country entered Confederation as the Province of Manitoba—after passing through the storms of the Red River Rebellion. On July 20th, 1871, British Columbia followed the example thus given. A Resolution in favour of Confederation had passed its Legislature in 1867, but had encountered some opposition from Lieut.-Governor Seymour and his Ministers. On January 29th, 1868, a large public meeting was held in Victoria and an active agitation started by the Hon. Amor de

Cosmos and others which resulted in the formation of a League to advocate the policy of union. J. F. McCreight, John Robson, Robert Beaven, Hugh Nelson, H. P. P. Crease, and other afterwards prominent citizens, joined in the movement. The chief opponent of the scheme was Dr. J. S. Helmcken, who seems to have been actuated by a strong American, if not annexationist, sentiment, and to have been supported by a certain section of the population which had come into the Province from the States to the south. An energetic debate on the question arose in the Assembly in March, 1870, and a favourable Resolution based upon arrangements proposed by Governor Musgrave—who had meanwhile replaced the late antagonistic Governor by advice of Sir John Macdonald to the Imperial authorities—was finally carried unanimously. Messrs. Helmcken, Carrall and Trutch were then sent to Ottawa and the terms finally settled—the principal item of discussion, then and afterwards, being a pledge by the Dominion to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway. By a trans-continental railway only could the Province be brought into Confederation in any other than the barest technical and constitutional sense. Prince Edward Island, after protesting that it would ne'er consent, finally came into the Union on July 1st, 1873, partly from a desire to have its land question settled; partly because of failure in the local shipbuilding trade, the imposition of high American duties upon Pro-

vincial fish, and the consequent commercial depression; partly because of inability to make the local revenue meet the objects of expensive railway development to which the Province was pledged.

With the completion of Confederation the Provinces entered upon the straight path towards nationality—either British or independent—and under the control of a man who was determined that it should be the former. Storms and struggles were to come and overshadow at times the seeming greatness of the Canadian future; but nothing seemed to blot out or really blur the impression stamped on the canvas of fate when the Queen's Proclamation was published on July 1st, 1867, and the birth of the new Dominion was formally announced. From thenceforward its record is that of an unceasing evolution along the lines of union—educational, religious, social and political. In a general sense and, of course, with the weakness of all generalisations, the age of constitutional struggle may be said to have passed into a period of transportation policy which, in turn, was succeeded by one of tariff controversy and then of mineral development.

PART THREE.

FORMATION OF A NATIONALITY, 1867–1900.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS UNDER FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS.

When bells pealed and cannon thundered on the first Dominion Day of these newly federated Provinces the sound marked the birth of an epoch in the history of a continent as well as of an Empire —a period of slow but sure growth and consolidation in the British nation thus formally established upon American soil. The acceptance of the Premiership and the successful formation of the first Federal Ministry by Sir John A. Macdonald * marked

* In honour of the achievement of Confederation Mr. Macdonald had been created a K.C.B. by the Queen, and Messrs. Howland, Macdougall, Tupper and Tilley Companions of the Bath. Mr. Cartier declined the latter honour—deeming himself entitled, as the French-Canadian leader, to at least equality of treatment with Mr. Macdonald. He was amply satisfied in the succeeding year with a baronetcy, and his colleague, Mr. H. L. Langevin, was also accorded a C.B.

at the same time the realisation of cherished personal ambitions and the final stage of evolution in the creation of a great political party. It had been evident to Sir John from almost his first entrance into public life, in 1844, that the future of the Provinces depended upon getting the French and English divided upon non-racial lines. To achieve this end, and by using opponents to advantage, he had carried reforms which the Liberal party had pressed for years but had been unable to effect. He had never been particular about party allegiance when a friend could be won or an enemy placated, and this, combined with his extraordinary personal magnetism, had enabled him in years preceding Confederation to win over Liberals such as M. H. Foley, D'Arcy McGee, Fergusson-Blair and Francis Hincks. There were many others who, in the shifting politics of those days, had ultimately come under the banner of John A. Macdonald and served him against the powerful onslaughts of George Brown and his paper. He was now able, in a greater field, to put in practice the policy of years, to break up finally the old party lines so often based upon racial and religious issues, and to establish a political organisation more in harmony with the circumstances of the new Dominion. He announced his intention of forming the first Federal Ministry with, if possible, the co-operation of men from all sections of the country and all divisions of political thought, who may have contributed to the creation of Confederation.

Six Liberals and six Conservatives were finally included in his Cabinet—Macdougall, Howland, Fergusson-Blair, Tilley, Mitchell and Archibald constituting the first element, and Campbell, Cartier, Langevin, Chapais, Galt and Kenny the last. In the appointments to the Senate which, of course, were made by the Governor-General upon his recommendation thirty-six Liberals were selected and thirty-six Conservatives. George Brown, with characteristic impracticability, refused to have anything to do with the new combination, called a Conference in Toronto, rallied round himself strong support and organised the basis of the present Liberal party of Canada. An even more important dissentient from the principle of coalition was Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia. In some unfortunate way his opposition to Confederation had been taken for granted and he had not been included in any of the Conferences upon the subject, although for so many years the foremost politician of his Province. He was now naturally, and no doubt honestly, a confirmed opponent of the whole scheme and an equally bitter antagonist of the Government which embodied its principles. He was also the head of the opposition to Dr. Tupper in Nova Scotia. The latter, it may be mentioned here, had been offered a seat in the new Dominion Ministry, but had, together with D'Arcy McGee, waived his strong personal and political claims in order to help Sir John in certain difficulties of sectional representa-

tion which had arisen. In New Brunswick and Quebec there was no very vigorous Opposition organised although, in the latter Province, Messrs. Dorion and Holton did their best to oppose the new arrangements and to support Mr. Brown in his Ontario activities. The party then formed around the person of Sir John A. Macdonald was called the Liberal-Conservative party, and this somewhat absurd name is still used upon formal occasions. Popularly, it became known as the Conservative or Tory party, while members of the Opposition soon received and accepted the old-time political names of Reformer, Grit, or Liberal.

Meanwhile the administrations of the Provinces generally were being constructed and carried on along the new lines provided by the Federal constitution. The Maritime Provinces for a time retained the Lieut.-Governors previously appointed by the Imperial authorities—Sir Charles Hastings Doyle in New Brunswick and Sir W. F. Williams in Nova Scotia. The first Ontario Legislature was opened by Major-General Henry W. Stisted as Lieutenant-Governor, and in Quebec Sir Narcisse F. Belleau, a native of the Province and for a time Prime Minister of Canada before Confederation, was appointed to the position. The first Premier of Ontario was John Sandfield Macdonald, who had been associated with Antoine A. Dorion in the Liberal leadership, but who had latterly drifted away from his moorings and come under the magnetic influence

of John A. Macdonald. For many years he was the idol of the Catholic population of the Upper Province. He could speak Gaelic and make a good speech in English and was clever and shrewd in character. But his opinions were not always stable, it was often hard to tell what he would do next, and in later years he, not inaccurately, termed himself "an Ishmaelite in politics." His Ministry was mainly Conservative in composition. In Quebec the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, so long and eminently connected with educational matters, formed a Government of similar political texture. In Nova Scotia, the Hon. Hiram Blanchard and, in New Brunswick, the Hon. A. R. Wetmore, headed Cabinets of a somewhat colourless nature so far as party politics were concerned. Thus equipped the Dominion started upon its course. To trace its political history onwards in detail is of course impossible here, but an effort may be made to present some of the salient points of progress.

The position and functions of the Governor-General changed gradually, and became settled, by precedent and practice, into that of a constitutional Sovereign guided, in his relationship toward the people of Canada, by a clearly defined recognition of the right of his Ministry to control the entire internal policy of the country so long as they retained the confidence of a Parliamentary majority—subject, however, to his usually dormant power of dismissing the Government and his admit-

ted right to control the important point of Parliamentary dissolution. At the same time, and as the Dominion grew in strength and influence, the position of the Governor-General as the representative of Imperial interests also increased in importance. All the correspondence between the Government of Great Britain and the Government of Canada centred in his hands, and all the intricate threads of Imperial policy as affecting Canada had to be considered by him and presented in turn to his Cabinet. There were no more stormy deputations to Downing Street, or passionate appeals to the British Parliament by irresponsible political agents as in the days of Papineau, Viger and Mackenzie. Much of what may be termed the foreign policy of Canada—for want of a better phrase with which to describe the external affairs of a Dependency which had not yet risen to Imperial partnership—was in his hands, and upon his advice to the Colonial Office turned many interests of grave import. Sir John Macdonald has, in this connection, paid the highest tribute to Lord Monck * for his management during several serious years of Provincial relations with the United States. Lord Lisgar (Sir John Young), who succeeded him in December, 1868, had charge of much of the intricate correspondence connected with the Washington negotiations of ensuing years

* *Life and Times of Sir John A. Macdonald*, by Joseph Pope, Ottawa.

and the claims of Canada to receive compensation for the Fenian Raids.

With the coming of Lord Dufferin in June, 1872, there began a new conception of the position and its duties. Hitherto the influence of the Governor-General, under the responsible system of government, was supposed to be entirely a personal and social one—except where Imperial interests were affected. Now the magnetic power of an almost perfect eloquence softened, chastened, flattered and moulded public opinion until the Earl of Dufferin became a great personal and political influence in the land; and it was seen how pronounced might be the power of a brilliant nobleman in the position of Queen's Representative and apart altogether from the ordinary degree of *prestige* surrounding that position. Almost at the beginning he had to face a difficult constitutional point. In 1873 the party storm-cloud known as the Pacific Railway Scandal broke over the heads of the Conservative Ministry of Sir J. Macdonald, and the Opposition demanded the instant dismissal of the Government at the hands of Lord Dufferin. Charge after charge was brought, and pressed, while Sir John Macdonald requested a prorogation of Parliament—instead of a resignation by himself, or a dissolution—in order that a responsible Royal Commission might examine and report upon the whole matter. This Lord Dufferin finally decided was only just, and moreover expressed his belief that so long as his

Government had a majority in Parliament he was bound in such affairs to follow its advice. Although he was much censured at the time his view came to be generally accepted, and his own personality soon carried him triumphantly clear of any temporary discontent. In 1874 he had much to do with arranging satisfactory terms with British Columbia, at a time of great local dissatisfaction over the failure to commence building the Canadian Pacific Railway; while his silvery speeches at Winnipeg and Victoria fairly electrified the people of the West through their elegant description of the vast resources and splendid future of the country.

The Marquess of Lorne, who came out in 1878, accompanied by his wife the Princess Louise, and whose appointment was a part of Lord Beaconsfield's Imperialistic policy, also had his constitutional difficulty. M. Luc Letellier de St. Just, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec and a Liberal in his former politics, had dismissed his Conservative Ministry on the ground of neglect to supply him with important documents for signature and approval. He found a Liberal leader to form a new Government and to live for a time on the sufferance of the Legislature. Meantime, however, Mr. Mackenzie, the Liberal Premier at Ottawa who had supported this action in Parliament, had been defeated, and a strong demand came to Sir John Macdonald from the Conservatives of Quebec to dismiss M. Letellier de St. Just. Lord Lorne objected because, under

all the principles of British responsible government, the Lieutenant-Governor's action had been disposed of from a constitutional point of view as soon as a new Premier had assumed responsibility for it and obtained the support of the House of Assembly. Party feeling ran too high, however; Sir John insisted upon his point and Lord Lorne referred the whole matter to the Colonial Office. The result was not very satisfactory to him, as it practically consisted of instructions to follow the advice of his Ministers. Accordingly the Lieutenant-Governor was removed. The Marquess of Lansdowne succeeded Lord Lorne in October, 1883, and had a considerable share in conducting the Canadian side of the controversies which followed about the Atlantic Fisheries. Sir John Macdonald has expressed his belief that Lord Lansdowne was the ablest of all Canada's Governors-General, and there is no doubt that the lucid and valuable nature of his despatches concerning affairs in the Dominion and its relation to the Empire was largely instrumental in causing his appointment as Viceroy of India. A curious evidence of development in the recognised functions of a position was shown at the time William O'Brien came to Canada for the purpose of expressing Irish Home Rule dislike of Lord Lansdowne as an Irish landowner. It was so widely felt that a Governor-General could not defend himself in such a case without loss of dignity and popular respect that there was an almost universal expression of indigna-

tion, several great public meetings were held, and O'Brien was practically compelled to leave the country. And this in Provinces where Sir Francis Bond Head had fought a personal and political campaign, where Lord Metcalfe and Lord Dalhousie had been the objects of public party execration, or where Sir Colin Campbell and Lord Falkland had been driven into retirement by the fierce attacks of a Joseph Howe.

Lord Stanley of Preston (16th Earl of Derby) during his term of office, which lasted from 1888 to 1893, was for a time the centre of considerable controversy in connection with the Jesuits Estates Act. His public expression of a belief in the constitutional legality of that measure raised the question as to whether a Governor-General could express a personal opinion upon a matter of local politics. It was claimed that in such a case he must be embodying the opinion of his Ministry. It cannot be said that the discussion had any satisfactory conclusion further than to clearly illustrate the public idea that the Queen's Representative had practically nothing to do with Canadian political affairs. Lord Aberdeen, who presided over the Dominion from 1893 until he was succeeded by the Earl of Minto in 1898, proved the contrary in his practical dismissal of Sir Charles Tupper and his Ministry in July, 1896. The issue turned upon the belief of the Governor-General that between the time when a Government has been defeated at the polls and the

occasion of its retirement, or meeting Parliament, the interests of the country as a whole are in the hands of the Sovereign, or her Representative, rather than in those of a Premier who represents a minority both in Parliament and the country. Hence his refusal to sanction certain important appointments and the consequent necessity under which Sir Charles Tupper lay of resigning office without waiting for the meeting of Parliament. The whole affair was perhaps more a party matter than a constitutional issue, as the mere fact of the Laurier Government instantly assuming office and responsibility absolved the Governor-General from a constitutional standpoint. Still, the result indicates the important dormant powers which lie in the Sovereign's hand and in those of her Representative. At the end of the century therefore we find that in Canada the Governor-General not only represents the Sovereign as the head of the State and of Parliament, but guides and influences very largely its external relations; helps to mould public opinion upon Imperial issues and to keep his Government in constant touch with the Colonial Office; leads the social affairs of the Dominion in the style of a country gentleman like Lord Lisgar or in princely state like Lord Aberdeen; controls the dissolution of Parliament at critical periods, and at times influences the tenure of office on the part of Ministries. He does not preside at the Council Board as the Governors used to do in former days,

or as they do now in Australia, but none the less does a man of ability, experience and strength in his position wield a pronounced influence over his Ministers in all matters outside of mere party politics.

The development in the position of the Lieutenant-Governors has been not less marked. In the days of constitutional struggle they exercised more than the power of a modern Governor-General. There was, for instance, substantially little difference between the functions of the Duke of Richmond at Quebec as Governor-in-Chief and those of Sir Peregrine Maitland at York as Lieutenant-Governor. Theoretical differences there were; practical ones there were not. The Governor-General usually presided over the affairs of Lower Canada before the Union of 1841, and not till the days of Lord Elgin did he really exercise power in the Maritime Provinces. After Confederation the Lieutenant-Governors were appointed by the Dominion Government and took at once a subsidiary position. And this despite constitutional decisions in the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council which have since indicated that they are, equally with the Governor-General, the representative in each Province of the Sovereign. Gradually, too, all the positions came to be filled by distinguished or representative local men, and, though the appointments have usually been of the highest character, it was natural that the public should come in time to look

upon the post of Lieutenant-Governor as merely a gift in the hands of the Dominion Ministry and a reward for political merit. The first native Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia was, very properly, Joseph Howe, and he was succeeded by others who had borne the brunt in party battles during many years—notably Sir Adams Archibald and the Hon. A. W. McLellan. In New Brunswick, L. A. Wilmot was the first native of the Province to rule in Government House and Sir Leonard Tilley, E. B. Chandler and R. D. Wilmot have been amongst his best known successors. The principal Lieutenant-Governors of Quebec have been the Hon. R. E. Caron, Luc Letellier de St. Just, A. R. Angers and Sir J. A. Chapleau—the latter a splendid orator, a shrewd Conservative politician and a powerful and popular French leader. In Ontario Sir W. P. Howland, the Hon. John Beverley Robinson (son of the Tory leader and Chief Justice of early days), Sir Alexander Campbell, Sir George Kirkpatrick and Sir Oliver Mowat have filled the position. In none of the Provinces did it develop into a very influential one. The duties of opening the Legislatures in the name of the Sovereign, presiding with differing degrees of fitness over the social life of the community and patronising, by presence and speeches, its various local interests, were not onerous functions. And so well understood did the relations between the Lieutenant-Governor and his Ministers become, and so free from constitutional strife has

been Provincial politics, that only in Quebec have controversies of importance arisen between them.

Yet the position has proved a useful if not a strongly influential one. It has given a dignified and permanent head to the constitutional system of each Province and has proved a more or less valuable social centre for the entertainment and reception of distinguished visitors and the promotion of that somewhat intangible element of modern civilisation termed culture. The two Quebec cases, in which the Lieutenant-Governors interfered directly with the position of their Ministers, were of serious import in a constitutional sense and illustrative of the strong and available powers which lie under all the apparent forms and formulas of British institutions. Some reference has been made to the first case in connection with the position of the Governor-General. The real point of importance in the dismissal of M. de Boucherville by M. Letellier de St. Just was the controversy which arose as to how far the principle of responsible government could be carried. Was the Representative of the Sovereign in either Dominion or Province to have the undoubted prerogative of the Crown at home, as regards the dismissal of a Ministry, or was he in no case to be justified in exercising that right? The decision then come to was not important as it was essentially a party one. And, although the revenge taken upon the Lieutenant-Governor by the Government at Ottawa, with the permission of the Imperial authori-

ties and despite the opposition of Lord Lorne, threatened to degrade the position of Lieutenant-Governor into that of a mere machine to register the wishes and policy of the Federal Cabinet, it did not so turn out. Nor did it in the end affect the prerogative of the Governor-General. The events of 1878 and 1879 found indeed a complete constitutional corrective in those of 1891. And the dismissal of M. Mercier, on proven charges of political corruption, by M. de Boucherville in the latter year, was also one of those turns of the wheel of fate in which history occasionally records a personal revenge given to some one who has suffered at its hands. In the first case a Liberal Lieutenant-Governor had dismissed a Conservative Ministry. In the second a Conservative Lieutenant-Governor—the Premier of the previous period—dismissed a Liberal Cabinet. In the former case the new Government struggled along for a year and the Lieutenant-Governor was dismissed by the Federal (Conservative) authorities. In the latter the new Ministry was sustained at the polls and the Lieutenant-Governor was sustained in office by the very authorities at Ottawa who had dismissed his predecessor. So that in the end, and after much constitutional controversy and partisan debate, the Liberal, and in this case British, principle, that the Crown or its Representative can dismiss a Ministry, if another Cabinet is found to accept the responsibility and carry on the Government, was maintained.

With the creation of the Dominion constitutional politics took an entirely new aspect. There were no more battles-royal between Governor and Cabinet, or Governor and political factions, except in the one or two cases already mentioned, where the conflict was mild indeed compared with past experiences. The Federal Parliament at Ottawa settled down into practices which followed closely the time-honoured principles and precedents of the British system and the Ministries, as they succeeded one another, moulded themselves as much as possible upon the same lines—an example which was carefully followed in the Provinces. The internal problems which came up for solution after the preliminary organisation of Governments and Government Departments, Customs and Excise, the Postal Service and the Franchise, turned more upon the general relation of the Provinces to the Dominion, and to each other, than upon petty questions of appointments to office and the payments of official salaries. Only occasionally was the old racial issue revived, while the so-called rebellions which took place only served to consolidate Confederation and unify national sentiment. With a greater population, wider outlook, more plentiful supply of able and experienced men, and a better knowledge of constitutional matters and the object-lesson afforded by England's more complete development, there could be no further question as to responsible government in either its nature, its practice or its benefits. But there

was much difficult work to encounter in the welding of the Provinces together while at the same time promoting and retaining Provincial autonomy. In this complex labour troubles were sure to come; and no man was better equipped to meet them than Sir John Macdonald. His conciliatory nature, charming manners and personal popularity made him a natural factor in the soothing of prejudices and the smoothing down of inevitable asperities.

The first matter of importance in this connection was the abolition in 1872 of the dual representation, under which a member of the Quebec or Ontario Government or legislature was able to sit in the Dominion Parliament—there being no regulation to the contrary in the British North America Act. The Maritime Provinces had, however, forbidden it from the first by local legislation. A measure was also passed in 1868 declaring that no person holding an office of profit or emolument under the Crown, or retaining Government contracts, could sit in Parliament. Then came the admission of British Columbia into Confederation in 1872 and that of Prince Edward Island in the succeeding year. But these two events were arranged without serious difficulty at the time and did not constitute a straining and testing of the new constitution such as was incurred by the questions connected with Manitoba and Nova Scotia during this period.

The latter Province was the only one of the four original members of the Confederation which caused

serious trouble at the outset of its new career. In the main this was owing to the fiery and eloquent personality of Joseph Howe. He had opposed Confederation in the old Assembly against Dr. Tupper and his friends, but unsuccessfully. At the polls in the elections which followed the Union in all the Provinces, he had his revenge and absolutely overwhelmed the Confederates. Tupper alone of all his party in Nova Scotia came to the new House of Commons at Ottawa, while two Confederates only entered the doors of the Assembly at Halifax. The air rang with denunciation of the Dominion and with cries for repeal of the Union. Howe had made the Province believe itself to have been tricked into a policy and position which would destroy its independence, menace its connection with Great Britain and hamper its progress. He declared that if the Legislature which passed the Federal proposals had gone to the people, as did the New Brunswick Assembly, the Province would not then be in the Confederation. The new Assembly passed almost unanimous Resolutions in favour of secession, a Delegation composed of Howe and others was sent to lay petitions before the Throne for permission to leave the Confederation, and from every town and village flowed in a stream of supporting appeals.

The scene was then transferred to London, where Howe appeared with a Province almost absolutely behind him in a plan to break up the new Dominion; and with the knowledge in his own mind and

in the public mind of Nova Scotia that thousands were willing to take up arms against the assertion of Federal supremacy. To London also went Tupper on behalf of the Dominion Government, armed with full powers of negotiation and abundance of forceful ability—perhaps the only man in Nova Scotia whom Howe had found a rival really worthy of his steel. The representative of the Province did everything in his power to obtain Imperial permission for the repeal of the Union, but failed. Dr. Tupper as representative of the Dominion did everything possible in opposition, and won. At the same time he spent days in negotiation and conversation with Howe, offered him better financial terms for his Province, seats in the Senate for his friends, a place in the Government for himself. Above all he pointed out the results of the inevitable failure should agitation be afterwards continued—an inflamed people, riots and perhaps civil war, financial ruin to individuals and to the Province, half a century's retrogression. These arguments had an effect which no personal considerations could for a moment have had with Howe and he weakened somewhat in the fierceness of his feelings. But he did all that man could do to carry out his mission, though upon his return home there was an immediate and perceptible effort to control the more violent spirits. Sir John Macdonald, Tupper, Cartier and others followed him to Halifax, skilled diplomacy directed by Sir John's master-hand was brought into play,

better terms were arranged in accordance with Dr. Tupper's promises, Howe entered the Dominion Cabinet and the issue was practically settled.

Two results followed however. The tribune of the people lost his marvellous popularity and stood in his new position like a shattered idol upon a pedestal. The realisation of this fact ultimately broke his heart, and, although he returned to Halifax three years later as the first native Lieutenant-Governor of his Province, he only lived a few months to enjoy the honour. Yet he had fully done his duty. Up to the point of absolute rebellion he had struggled against destiny as few others have done, and only drew back before lurid possibilities which entailed an enormous responsibility upon a man who seemed to hold the people in the hollow of his hand. He was not a reckless and irresponsible Mackenzie, and therefore stopped at the brink, turned back and made the best terms possible for his Province. To an inflamed public mind it looked like treachery; to the historian who knows the honourable and pure character of the man it looks like patriotism of a high type. Howe had managed in 1872 to carry his Province despite the defection of friends and the mutterings of discontent. But it was a last effort and result of his wonderful oratory. Up to within a few years of the close of the century Repeal has continued to be heard of at the polls in Nova Scotia; the bitterness remained for long in the hearts of the people, and resolutions were even passed in the As-

sembly. The steady growth of a wider national life, however, slowly but surely destroyed this sentiment, and time has now finally drawn a veil over the whole dangerous and futile movement.

In 1868 it was felt by the Dominion Government that some steps should be taken to secure the great Hudson's Bay Company territories for Canada; and that the time was most opportune as the two hundred years' charter of the famous body of Adventurers into Hudson's Bay was about to come up again for renewal at the hands of the Imperial Parliament. Sir George Cartier and the Hon. William Macdougall were, therefore, sent to London, and after varied negotiations and discussions Canada was allowed by the Imperial authorities to purchase from the Company its proprietary rights and its monopoly of trade. Accordingly, in 1870, £300,000 was paid to the Hudson's Bay Company, a twentieth of all lands surveyed for future settlement was promised to it, and certain guarantees were given against excessive taxation. It was still to retain numerous and important trading-posts, a vast influence over the natives, and wide facilities for commerce. The reasons for this expansive policy on the part of the Dominion were strong and the results exceedingly important. The United States had recently purchased the wilds of Alaska and was well known to have a natural desire for further extension; while the people of Canada were not very sure as to the possible effect which a big bid from the Republic

might have upon the Hudson's Bay Company. Moreover, the central settlement on the Red River was known to contain many American adventurers of a type not unlike the Fenians, and it was believed that the Company had hardly done its duty in the matter of colonisation. There was no substantial reason for any fear of the Company's loyalty. Later knowledge of its history shows that it was really the cause of saving all this vast region to the Crown, and that, if the Provinces to the south had earlier understood their own possibilities of expansion and the Colonial Office not been dominated by the Little Englanders, Oregon and Washington, and Alaska itself, might have formed a part of the Dominion.

But the true Imperial spirit was now dawning in the minds of the Canadian people, and the time had arrived in the North-West for its change from a region of traps and furs, of buffaloes and Indians, into one of steadily developing agriculture and all the varied forms of civilised energy. At first, the twelve thousand people—mainly French and Indian Half-breeds, some Americans and a few Canadians —did not understand the situation. And, unfortunately, it was not explained to them except by the appearance of land surveyors and the spread of countless rumours. Out of this ignorance came opposition and then the splutter of a brief and fantastic rebellion. The horde of Indians roving over the vast prairies of the West knew nothing of the matter

at all, but were none the less subjects for serious speculation when trouble threatened—partly in this case from their numbers, partly from their intimate relations with the Half-breeds, partly from their susceptibility to the schemes of unscrupulous agitators. Largely owing, however, to the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company there was but little difficulty with them at this time.

The story of the rebellion which followed is a curious one and might very well be a long one. The French Half-breeds of the Red River had for leader a clever, eloquent, unscrupulous, partially educated and very ambitious man in the person of Louis Riel. He had a sufficiently mixed element to appeal to and one which required a positive genius for conciliation to combine and concentrate in a successful insurrection. It is creditable to his ability that he was able to browbeat the somewhat indifferent Company and the loyal Canadians, and to deceive the Half-breeds by promoting jealousy of Canadian rule, fears of heavy taxation, natural prejudices against the land surveyors and thoughts of a disgraceful position as the Colony of a Colony—without self-government or the rights of British subjects. The English-speaking and French-speaking Half-breeds were jealous of each other's religious views and possible supremacy under the new dispensation; while the pure white element was divided into loyal Canadians, Fenians with fond and foolish republican aspirations, and American set-

tlers dreaming of Annexation. This population, with all its jumble of peculiar views and possibilities, Riel stirred up into such antagonism to Canada and such conflicting internal jealousies that, in the winter of 1869 when news arrived of the Canadian appointment of the Hon. William Macdougall as Governor of the unorganised territory, he was able to raise the flag of insurrection, proclaim himself "Provisional President" of a new Republic and prevent the entrance, into what is now Manitoba, of Macdougall and his staff. The latter, from out of the wilds of Minnesota, in the United States, issued vain orders and appeals, but was compelled eventually to return to Ottawa leaving Riel at the head of affairs until his dream of power was shattered in the summer of 1870 by the arrival of the Wolseley expedition.

Meanwhile the latter rioted in a rough-and-ready rule which was marked by streaks of cleverness in policy and by such miserable incidents as the murder of a young Canadian named Scott, who was shot by the order of the "President" on a pretended charge of seeking to breed dissension in the little Republic. Of the stuff that romances are built upon was the imprisonment of some loyal Canadians in old Fort Garry and the escape of Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Schultz in a wild and stormy night, and his succeeding journey on snowshoes over the vast wilderness of seven hundred miles which lay between the Red River and civilisa-

tion. Gaunt in appearance and broken in health through starvation and suffering, he quickly helped to set Ontario on fire with indignation; and, in days prior to railway connection with the Canadian West, a force of seven hundred volunteers and five hundred regulars under command of Colonel Garnet J. Wolseley was soon wending its weary way by lakes and rivers and wilds to revenge the death of Scott, to restore British-Canadian rule, and to bring peace and harmony to a now hunted and cowed people. Royal Commissions had meanwhile been sent up by the Dominion Government, and Donald A. Smith (now Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal) had used his personal influence and that of the Hudson's Bay Company to restore order, without much avail. They had, however, with the aid of Bishop Taché, prevented any more Scott episodes. On August 24th, 1870, Wolseley reached Fort Garry, in the heart of the Red River Settlement, only to find that the tiny phantom of a Republic had crumbled into dust and that Riel had fled to the United States. There he was destined to pass several years of exile, and from thence he eventually came to lead another and more serious insurrection.

Colonel Wolseley quickly restored order, escaped the Lieutenant-Governorship which it is understood he was willing to accept, highly praised the volunteer portion of his force, and returned home to become eventually Commander-in-Chief of the Army and one of the two or three leading British soldiers

of his period. Manitoba was organised under the terms of the British North America Act and admitted into the Confederation with all the privileges of a Province, while Fort Garry, in time, became the great prairie city and commercial centre—Winnipeg. Such was the constitutional birth of Manitoba. It was, and is, a small Province, but comprises within its bounds the most fertile soil in the world and the most marvellous wheat-bearing qualities. North and east and west of it stretched the boundless prairies and plains, river valleys and lakes and streams, of what were then the practically unknown North-West Territories. No government was as yet given them because their only population was still in the main a roving and hunting body of men who acknowledged little of interest or influence except that of the Hudson's Bay Company. But gradually people came, setlements were formed, and railways established, until in 1876 Keewatin was formed into a District under the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and in 1882 Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabasca were organised under a Lieutenant-Governor who placed his pioneer capital upon the prairies at a little settlement christened Regina. There were various phases in the constitutional progress of these Territories. A Lieutenant-Governor with a Council appointed by himself was the first; an Advisory Council of four Members chosen from an elected Assembly of twenty-two members was the next; an Executive

Council and Legislative Assembly with practically all Provincial powers except the right to borrow money and control the Crown Lands followed. Then in 1898 came complete responsible government. In 1895 the still unorganised regions of a million square miles had been formed into the Districts of Ungava, Franklin and Mackenzie and placed under the Regina Government. Two years later the District of Yukon was carved out of this region and in 1898 taken under Dominion jurisdiction.

Meanwhile various events had occurred. D'Arcy McGee, whose eloquence had given him such influence over his fellow-Irishmen and such a marked place in Canadian history, was murdered by Fenian instrumentality at the door of his own house—upon the very verge of his entry into the Government of the country he had served so well and just after a brilliant speech in the House urging conciliation and kindness to the Repealers of Nova Scotia. The fantastic but costly Fenian Raids of May, 1870, into Quebec, and of October, 1871, into Manitoba followed. The volunteers were again called out, another half million dollars was spent by the country, and the Fenians were driven back over the border after a brief struggle at Eccles Hill in the East and by the intervention of United States troops in the far West—after long delays and many warnings to the American Government. The Atlantic fisheries question came up, an important militia measure

was passed, the Washington Treaty was arranged. British troops to the number of 14,000 men were withdrawn from Canada in accordance with Manchester School principles, and the Dominion found itself to all intents and purposes a free British nation upon the American continent. Constitutional points between the Provinces arose from time to time. Ontario and Quebec had a prolonged struggle over the large debt which they had jointly incurred during the days of Legislative union and of which, under the Act of Confederation, the Dominion Government was to assume part and the rest to be equally divided between the two Provinces. The division was left to arbitration, but eventually the differences became so great that Quebec withdrew its Arbitrator and its Legislature refused to be bound by the award. Stormy discussions followed at Ottawa and eventually the matter went to the Courts, and is not yet entirely settled.

In 1871 a question arose in New Brunswick which affected the school system of the whole Dominion in a constitutional sense. A Provincial law was passed establishing free and non-sectarian schools. The Roman Catholics, however, wanted their own separate institutions, as in Ontario, where the children should receive definite instruction along Catholic lines and to which their taxation should be applied, instead of to schools which they could not conscientiously use. They appealed to the Dominion Government for disallowance of the measure on the

ground of its violating certain provisions of the British North America Act. This was refused, and they then appealed to the Courts and finally to the Judicial Committee in London, where the Provincial law was declared constitutional. There was no further public trouble in the matter, although local discussions of details in the operation of the law have since taken place. Then came the union of Prince Edward Island and British Columbia with Canada, the constitutional completion of Confederation from the Atlantic to the Pacific and the pledge of a trans-continental railway. In 1872--3 arose one of those party issues which shake a country to the core, overthrow Governments and change the current of events. During the former year the Dominion general elections had taken place, and one of the prominent questions was the proposed construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Government was sustained, but in the Session of the ensuing year charges were made upon the floor of Parliament, by the Hon. L. S. Huntington, of the most serious character. Flagrant corruption was alleged in connection with the sale of the charter for the projected road, and private letters and telegrams stolen from the desk of Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. J. C. Abbott of Montreal were produced which proved that the Government, through Sir George Cartier, had undoubtedly obtained from Sir Hugh Allan, head of one of two rival Companies, large sums of money for election purposes. A Royal

Commission was appointed and sat, but did nothing more than report the evidence. Stormy discussions in the press, in Parliament and on the platform followed, and a wave of public indignation swept the Government finally into a position where Sir John Macdonald felt compelled to resign. Mr. Alexander Mackenzie was sent for and formed a Liberal Cabinet with Dorion, Cartwright, Letellier de St. Just, Huntington, Blake and others as members. In the following year he appealed to the people and was given a large majority.

Sir John Macdonald never attempted to deny the receipt and expenditure of these moneys and no one ever accused him, even during one of the two hottest election contests in Canadian history, of having personally benefited. But the Cabinet of Canada was unfortunately the Carlton Club of the Conservative party, and the combination of these two functions really explains the whole situation. Money had to be obtained and used in the elections, but it should not have been obtained by members of the Government. And, although it was proved that Sir Hugh Allan had received nothing and had been promised nothing for his contributions; that he had always given generously to the party funds as became a man interested in particular phases of its canal and railway policy; and that in his pet ambition of being President of the consolidated Company which it was hoped would be formed out of the two rival concerns at Toronto and Montreal, he

had been disappointed through Sir John's own intervention; yet it was very properly felt that the Government should not have accepted anything from him.

An incident of the elections was the return to Parliament of Louis Riel from the Half-breed constituency of Provencher, in Manitoba. He managed to come secretly to Ottawa and to secretly sign the roll; but, as a fugitive from justice with an indictment for murder against him, was at once expelled the House and on being re-elected was again expelled. At the same time, however, the general amnesty extended to the rest of the rebels was now granted Riel and his lieutenant Lepine—very foolishly as it turned out. The commencement of the Canadian Pacific Railway followed under loud threats of secession from the Pacific shores of the Dominion if the pledges of 1872 were not adhered to; and in 1878 Sir John Macdonald came back to power with a triumphant majority based upon his policy of protection to native industries and his own marvellous personal popularity. Between this date and his death in 1891 his continuously sustained Government included members such as Thompson, Campbell, Tilley, Tupper, Foster, Caron, Bowell, Macpherson, White, Chapleau, Abbott, Langevin, Frank Smith and C. H. Tupper. In 1885 came another Nova Scotian issue in the shape of a demand for a larger annual subsidy. This was based on the ground that other Provinces had re-

ceived more favourable terms since 1868 than it had; that its financial condition was bad and its resources insufficient for the purposes of government and internal improvement; that the Province had not received sufficient compensation for local railways which had been taken over by the Dominion; and that its Customs contributions to the Dominion treasury were greatly out of proportion to its receipts from the Dominion. Upon the refusal of "better terms" the mutterings of the old Repeal movement were again heard in the land, the Legislature passed Resolutions in favour of instant secession, and a Provincial Government favouring these views was actually returned by a large majority. It was, however, only a game of political bluff, and the constituencies of the Province continued to return a large majority to Ottawa of Confederates and Conservatives. Meantime an International Commission sitting at Halifax in 1877 had awarded Canada $5,500,000 for the American use of its fisheries during ten years, and later on (1888) a new Fisheries Treaty was negotiated by Mr. T. F. Bayard, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Tupper, but was thrown out in the United States Senate.

The Saskatchewan rebellion of 1885 brought Riel once more to the front and, incidentally, brought good out of evil by developing the most marked evidences of really national unity amongst Provinces stretched in a thin streak of population across

half a continent. It was largely the result of a clever agitator being permitted to play upon the fears and prejudices of an ignorant class in the community. But these feelings had some substantial basis. Unlike the Half-breeds on the Red River in Manitoba, those living on the prairie banks of the Saskatchewan, some hundreds of miles away, had never been granted title-deeds or patents for their land; and in a season of wild speculative excitement they naturally feared the possibility of seizure on the part of unscrupulous speculators. Petitions seemed to be useless, while all around them the buffalo was failing and the Indians as well as the Half-breeds were finding a cordon of not improbable starvation drawing around them. In the midst of their discontent Riel was called for as the man who had forced the Government to give the Manitoba Half-breeds their patents and as an agitator whom that Government had been apparently afraid to punish for the murder of Scott. He came to their aid, and they naturally thought his help would be considerable. For a while he was moderate in advice, constitutional in agitation and reasonable in view. Then the wild free air of the prairies seemed to get into his easily inflamed mind, memories of past power recurred to him, daily evidences of present influence over a scattered but numerous population of Half-breeds and Indians came home to his senses, republican sentiments revived in his mind and were aided by spiritual

fanaticism and the force of his own eloquence. He cast fear and consequences to the winds, gathered the Half-breeds around him at Batoche, called on the Indians to join him, and rebellion was once more a fact on Canadian soil. Scattered through these great regions were some thirty-five thousand Indians. The men of these tribes were mostly skilled hunters and would have made brave warriors. They were friends of the Half-breeds and were associated with them by ties of kindred life and occupation and often of blood. If they joined the insurrection the whites of much of the vast country between Winnipeg and the Rockies, and north to Hudson's Bay and the Arctic seas, were at their mercy. Riel did his best but failed for the moment, excepting in the cases of Big Bear and Poundmaker—two chiefs with considerable followings.

Great anxiety naturally prevailed at Ottawa. It was felt that if the Indians did not at once join Riel they would certainly do so in the event of any success won over Canadian troops, and that the terrors of the historic scalping-knife and the horrors of fire and death were hanging over the heads of the entire North-West settlers. Scarcity of food had made the tribes restless and, despite the excellent administration which as a whole has characterised the record of Canadian relations with the Indians, the danger was a serious one. Preparations were quietly made, but, in the month of March and like a flash of lightning, came the news that Riel had

taken advantage of a rumoured declaration of war by Russia against Great Britain, had assumed absolute authority at Batoche, given the command of his troops to Gabriel Dumont—a skilful buffalo hunter and Half-breed—and that the latter had defeated near Duck Lake a force of Mounted Police with a loss of twelve men killed and seven wounded. In a moment Canada and the other Provinces were in a blaze. The Government call for troops was responded to with a rush, and in three days Canadian militiamen were on the march from Quebec, Montreal, Kingston and Toronto, while regiments had volunteered for service from Halifax to Winnipeg. General Middleton, in command of the Militia as a whole, was placed in charge of the expedition and proved a careful, skilful and fortunate leader. Three points, at considerable distances from one another, were menaced by the rapidly spreading rebellion—Prince Albert by the Half-breeds at Batoche, Battleford by the Indians under Poundmaker and Fort Pitt by Big Bear's Indian Reserve. Near the latter point, at Frog Lake, a massacre of white people did take place, and shortly afterwards the Fort was itself captured.

General Middleton arranged his forces into three columns after their junction with those of Winnipeg. They had already endured great privations and sufferings from cold in marching the long distance which had to be traversed north of Lake Superior—owing to the incomplete condition of the Canadian

Pacific Railway and the refusal of the United States Government to permit British armed troops to cross its territory by rail. The first column under Lieut.-General Bland Strange, and numbering five or six hundred, was sent against Big Bear and his followers. The second, numbering about the same and under the command of Lieut.-Colonel W. D. Otter, was despatched to the relief of Battleford. The main column, under his own command, consisted of nearly a thousand men and was to relieve Prince Albert and subjugate Batoche. Upon the whole this carefully matured plan was carried out. Middleton first met the rebels at Fish Creek on April 24th, where they fought so stubbornly and well that he was for a moment checked and induced to await reinforcements before advancing further in pursuit of the retiring enemy. Meanwhile Colonel Otter relieved Battleford, marched out to meet Poundmaker and plunged into a gully opening upon Cut Knife Hill. Here his troops were virtually surrounded by a wall of fire, and though they fought steadily and well had to eventually be withdrawn. A week later occurred the three days' struggle at Batoche between Middleton's forces and the Half-breeds intrenched behind rifle-pits in a region furrowed with ravines and guarded by trenches. At last, on the 12th of May, the slow process of distant shot and shell was abandoned, and, under orders from the General and by the more immediate command of Colonels Van Straubenzie, Williams and Grasett, a

charge was made which cleared the rifle-pits in a hurry and scattered the rebels like chaff. In a few days Riel was a prisoner and the insurrection practically at an end. General Strange, a little later, came up with Big Bear, but was repulsed from a strong position which the old savage held near Fort Pitt. Two days afterwards, however, a portion of the band was severely punished by Major Steele and the prisoners captured at Frog Lake were rescued. Early in July the Chief came in and surrendered, and on the 5th of the month the troops started for home, where they received such a welcome and were the cause of such really national demonstrations as Canada had never seen before.

In the summer Riel was tried for high treason at Regina, found guilty and executed in September, despite a tremendous political uproar which arose over the claim that he was a Frenchman and a Catholic and was being condemned for that reason; that the insurrection was justified by the neglect of the Government to meet the Half-breeds' complaints in time; and that he was insane and should therefore be merely shut up in safe-keeping for the rest of his life. The Liberal press made a fierce campaign upon this general issue, Quebec was aroused as it had perhaps not been since the days of 1837 or 1849, and Honoré Mercier rode into office in that Province upon a triumphant wave of sectarian and sectional bigotry. But the sentiment was only a momentary one. When the Dominion elec-

tions came on in January, 1887, Messrs. Chapleau, Langevin and Caron, who had taken their political lives in their hands, refused to bow or bend to the storm of racial and religious feeling, and stood by Sir John Macdonald, were able to hold the Province for the Conservative party and for the constitutional exercise of the principle of Dominion authority in the teeth of Provincial prejudices and policy. Incidentally, and during the debate upon the question in the House of Commons, Mr. Edward Blake made one of his greatest speeches in an attack upon the Government, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) John S. D. Thompson delivered a reply which stands in history as one of the most logical and lucid ever given in a Canadian Parliament. It established permanently his reputation as a great debater. The result of the rebellion was, in the main, beneficial, and the local consequences of Government neglect, or insurrectionary discontent, or political strife, were transmuted by the influence of pride in the volunteers and the popular ardour of a military campaign into a strengthened national sentiment which spread like a wave from shore to shore of the Dominion.

As a result of the coming into power in Quebec of M. Mercier with an extreme religious and racial party masquerading under the name of Liberal, or at times of "Le parti Nationale," certain important legislation connected with the historic Jesuits' Estates was enacted. At the time of the Cession

of Canada the Jesuits held large properties in and around Quebec; and under the terms of the Treaty with France and the subsequent suppression of the Order by the Pope these came into the hands of the British Government. An allowance was granted, however, to every then living member of the Order in Canada. In 1814 the Papal suspension was removed and an agitation began for the restoration of the Estates, or for the indemnification of the Order itself—whose priests were returning once more to the land in which their earlier predecessors had so greatly suffered and so strenuously laboured. Finally, in 1888, M. Mercier took advantage of his large majority in the Quebec Legislature and of a strong politico-religious feeling amongst the people, to introduce and pass an Act granting $400,000 to the Order as complete compensation for these claims. At the same time he very shrewdly granted the Protestant Educational Committee of the Province $60,000 for the use of their institutions. A powerful agitation was at once commenced in Ontario, led by Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, an eminent lawyer and Conservative politician, for the disallowance of the measure at the hands of the Dominion Government. Discussion raged everywhere and considerable religious feeling was aroused, especially by a peculiar use of the Pope's name in the Preamble to the measure. The matter was fiercely debated in Parliament, but Sir John Macdonald stood firmly upon the ground that, whether good or evil, the

legislation was constitutional and that he would not contravene Provincial rights by advising the use of the Crown's prerogative of veto. As the general question of Provincial rights was one upon which the Liberals had hitherto taken a strong position—notably in cases connected with Provincial boundaries, Provincial and Dominion rights in streams and rivers, the sphere of control in temperance legislation and the power of appointing Queen's Counsel—they now supported the Conservative Government and placed McCarthy and his supporters in a minority of 13 to 188. Out of the accompanying agitation, however, grew the Equal Rights Association, based upon the old-time theory of George Brown that French-Canadianism and Roman Catholicism were acquiring too great a power in the country. It had its effect in stirring up feeling over the Manitoba School Question and in the Ontario elections of 1890, but had largely lost its force by the Dominion elections of the succeeding year. An extreme result of this agitation was the ephemeral, but violent, Protestant Protection Association—an importation in form and constitution from the United States.

Another religious issue came to the front, partly in the same connection. The Province of Manitoba in 1890 had abolished its Catholic Separate Schools and established a system based largely upon that of New Brunswick. The Roman Catholic minority considered this measure unconstitutional and in con-

travention of a distinct understanding at the time of entering Confederation, in 1871, that their Separate Schools would never be interfered with. They appealed to the Courts and thence to the Imperial Privy Council. That body decided the legislation to be within the powers of the Province. Then a second appeal on another point went through the Courts and to the Privy Council, and the result was a decision that a minority in any Province, which deemed itself oppressed, had a right to demand redress from the Governor-General-in-Council, or in other words from the Dominion Government. This was at once done. Meanwhile, the brilliant intellect and keen discernment of Sir John Macdonald was no longer at the head of the Administration at Ottawa. After his death in 1891, Sir John J. C. Abbott had succeeded to the Premiership for a year and a half and been replaced in December, 1892, by Sir John S. D. Thompson. The latter's pathetic and memorable death at Windsor Castle, just after being sworn of the Imperial Privy Council by the Queen, made Sir Mackenzie Bowell Prime Minister in December, 1894. By his Government it was now decided to restore the Seprate Schools, and a Remedial Order to that effect was issued. The Premier of Manitoba refused to act upon the command, agitation for the guarding of Provincial rights commenced in Ontario, the pressure of the French-Canadians for the restoration of the schools of their compatriots in the West con-

THE RT. HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER, G.C.M.G.,
Prime Minister of Canada, 1896-1900

tinued, trouble in the Ministry developed, and finally Sir M. Bowell resigned and in May, 1896, was succeeded by Sir Charles Tupper. The reorganised Government introduced a Bill into Parliament along the lines of the Remedial Order, but could not get it through the House, a general election followed in June, the veteran of a thousand Tory battles was beaten, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into power with the Liberals, for the first time since 1878 and upon a policy of conciliation rather than coercion. He eventually succeeded in compromising matters with the Liberal Premier of Manitoba, and thus settled a question which had seriously menaced the friendly and constitutional harmony of the Provinces in relation to one another.

Meantime, and in the various Provinces, political and constitutional matters had followed along the lines set by Dominion precedent; though there was keen jealousy in the preservation of every right which might be deemed theirs under the constitution. In Ontario, Sandfield Macdonald was replaced as Premier by a Liberal Government in December, 1871, with Edward Blake as Premier. A year later Mr. Blake resigned to go into Dominion politics and was succeeded by Oliver Mowat, who had left the Bench for the Premiership, and now continued to hold that position through all the mutations of party strife for twenty-four years. In 1896 Sir O. Mowat accepted the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Province and was replaced by Mr. Arthur S. Hardy,

who in 1899 was succeeded by Mr. George W. Ross. The leaders of the Conservative Opposition during this long period were Mr. (afterwards Chief Justice Sir) M. C. Cameron and Mr. (afterwards Chief Justice Sir) W. R. Meredith. Then came for a short time Mr. G. F. Marter and the present leader Mr. J. P. Whitney. In Quebec the Chauveau Ministry was succeeded, in 1873, by that of the Hon. G. Ouimet. Then came C. B. de Boucherville, H. J. Joly de Lotbinière, J. A. Chapleau, J. A. Mousseau, J. J. Ross and L. O. Taillon. With the exception of M. Joly de Lotbinière, who was Premier for a year, by grace of the Lieutenant-Governor, these were all reorganisations of an existing Conservative Cabinet. But on January 27, 1887, the Hon. Honoré Mercier—afterwards created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire by the Pope—came into office and held power until December, 1891, when C. B. de Boucherville, L. O. Taillon and E. J. Flynn were the successive heads of another Conservative Ministry. In 1897 the Hon. F. G. Marchand carried the Province for the Liberal party and came into power.

Politics in the Maritime Legislatures were not very clearly defined after Confederation. The Conservatives, as a rule, carried the Provinces in Dominion elections, while the Liberals, who had obtained all the rights they desired, were reasonably content—aside from the secession agitation in Nova Scotia. In that Province, Hiram Blanchard,

William Annand, P. C. Hill, S. H. Holmes, J. S. D. Thompson and W. T. Pipes were alternately Premiers, until 1884, when the Hon. W. S. Fielding came into power and held the reins as a Liberal, with a coalition Cabinet, until he entered the Dominion Ministry in 1896 and was replaced at Halifax by the Hon. G. H. Murray. In New Brunswick, Mr. Wetmore was succeeded by G. E. King, J. J. Fraser, D. L. Harrington and A. G. Blair. From 1833 until 1896, when he entered the Laurier Ministry, the last-named politician remained at the head of a sort of coalition—though himself a Liberal and, like Mr. Fielding in Nova Scotia, an ally of the other Provincial Liberal Governments. He was succeeded, first by James Mitchell and then by the Hon. H. R. Emmerson. In Prince Edward Island, L. C. Owen, L. H. Davies, W. W. Sullivan, Frederick Peters, A. B. Warburton and Donald Farquharson succeeded one another as Prime Minister. Manitoba was governed from the days of Union, in 1870, by Alfred Boyd, M. A. Girard, H. J. H. Clarke, R. A. Davies and D. H. Harrison. The two chief Premiers and politicians of the Prairie Province were, however, John Norquay (1878–87), a big, clever, jovial, honest Half-breed, and Thomas Greenway, from 1888 to 1900 when he was defeated, and replaced by the Hon. Hugh John Macdonald —son of the great Dominion Premier. In connection with this Province an important constitutional point arose in 1837 over the attempted

construction of the Red River Railway—a line running south from Winnipeg and contravening the Dominion arrangements made with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in 1880 and accepted by Parliament. At the point of crossing the C.P.R. difficulties occurred which almost ended in conflict between the Provincial and Dominion authorities; while Manitoba rang with fierce denunciation of what was termed the "Monopoly Clause" in the Charter and the determination of the Dominion Government to enforce it. Deputation after deputation went to Ottawa and protest after protest came from the Provincial Legislature until, in 1888, a compromise was effected and the clauses in dispute waived by the C.P.R. Company in return for a fifty-year Dominion guarantee of interest on a $15,000,000 issue of 3½ per cent. bonds, secured upon the Company's unsold lands—about 15,000,000 acres. British Columbia, meanwhile, was ruled, as Prime Minister and in succession, by J. F. McCreight, Amor de Cosmos, A. C. Elliot, G. A. Walkem, R. Beaven, William Smythe, A. E. B. Davies, John Robson—a pioneer leader and politician who perhaps made the greatest impression upon its history—Theodore Davie, J. H. Turner and C. A. Semlin. In the North-West Territories, and through various phases and forms of constitutional government, Mr. F. W. G. Haultain has, since 1887, been the chief figure in politics and administration.

In municipal matters marked progress took place

during this period. Prior to the Union of 1841 there had been practically no municipal institutions in Lower Canada, while, in Upper Canada, the Provincial Legislature had been burdened with an infinite amount of detail work in connection with villages, towns and counties. After that date many of these matters were delegated to local bodies of a still somewhat crude composition, and in Lower Canada efforts were made to evolve a system which would modify that French-Canadian ignorance of municipal institutions which had in earlier days so disastrously extended to other constitutional principles and conditions. But it was not until after Confederation that a system was fully established in all the Provinces by which each county, city, town, township, village or parish controlled its own public improvements, public health, morals and, in some measure, public taxation. With the exception of Prince Edward Island, however, a complete and reasonably efficient municipal code is now in operation in all the Provinces of the Dominion.

Such is the briefest possible record of Canadian constitutional matters since Confederation. There has been friction between the Provinces at times; there have been inevitable troubles of a racial, religious or educational character; there have been curious developments of a political kind. But the progress has been steady, and, despite party controversy and party accusations, sectarianism and sectionalism have markedly decreased. Federal ties

have been developed into national ones and mutual interests have so increased that even the advocacy of so-called Provincial rights has lost its old-time charm. Foreign intrigues have had a vital influence in this connection, but they too have lost their force, owing mainly to the vigour and sincerity of Sir John Macdonald's life-ideal of a great British Dominion, and latterly to the wisdom of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in upholding the same principle and carrying his party along similar lines of Imperial and constitutional development.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROGRESS IN TRANSPORTATION AND TARIFFS.

Railways and tariffs have been so intermixed with the politics and progress of Canada during the last half of the nineteenth century that it is almost impossible to dissever them. They take, in fact, the place of earlier constitutional struggles and seem to permeate every project of trade, every material interest of each and every Province, and all the matters affecting the daily life and movement and business of the people. At the end of the century the immense distances of British North America have been covered by nearly seventeen thousand miles of railway, where only twenty-two hundred existed in 1868—with working expenses of $35,000,000 and earnings of $52,000,000 in 1897, as compared with earnings of $12,000,000 and corresponding expenses in the year after Confederation.

When the Provinces began their Federal career the Grand Trunk Railway had been built, had run its course of bankruptcy, and was on the slow upgrade toward the period when it would stretch out to Chicago in the United States and amalgamate

with its own line half the small railways of Ontario. The Intercolonial Railway was still the subject of a discussion which had lasted from 1835 onwards, and had included various tentative surveys and numerous negotiations in London and at the Provincial capitals. But its completion was now a part of the pact of Federation, and the methods and cost of operating had become the chief elements of discussion. The final surveys through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were made by Mr. (now Sir) Sandford Fleming, the exact route was decided upon, questions of construction were fought over and settled, and the work commenced and carried on until the 1st of July, 1876, when the whole line was opened to traffic at a total cost to the Dominion of $22,488,000. The mileage of the system was, in 1895, 1,186 miles and the through distance from Halifax to Quebec was 675 miles. By legislation and arrangements made in 1898 the direct connection of the line has been carried on to Montreal. Great Britain was originally interested in this Railway as a means for transporting troops, and she became more directly connected with it by a subsequent guarantee of loans amounting to £3,000,000 for its construction—partly in return for the waiving by Canada of her Fenian Raid claims against the United States. It must also be said that had it not been for the reckless surrender of territory by the Imperial Government under the Ashburton Treaty the distance to cover between Montreal and Hali-

fax would have been less by two hundred miles, ten million dollars of expenditure would have been saved, and a winter port on the Atlantic coast secured to the Dominion.*

Following the construction of this line and the binding together of Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces came the entry of British Columbia into the Confederation and the pledge to connect Ontario by rail with the distant shores of the Pacific. It was not a new project, but was none the less a daring one in its inception, its execution and its completion. The idea in 1834 was a favourite one with Thomas Dalton, Editor of the Toronto *Patriot;* Sir Richard Bonnycastle, in 1846, had written of an iron belt from the Atlantic to the Pacific; Sir John Harvey in the succeeding year, and with that statesmanship which seems to have ever characterised his policy and ideas, spoke to the Legislature in Nova Scotia of "a great chain of communication which may be destined at no remote period to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean;" Robert Christie in his *History of Lower Canada,* Major Carmichael Smyth, R.E., Lieutenant Synge, R.E., and a few others wrote of it in 1848–9; Joseph Howe declared at Halifax on July 15th, that "Many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains;" Alan Macdonell of Toronto, in the same year, tried to or-

* Sir Sandford Fleming, in *History of the Intercolonial Railway.*

ganise a Company for the construction of a Pacific Railway. Others who favoured or advocated the project in succeeding years were the Hon. John Young of Montreal and Chief Justice Draper of Upper Canada, Lord Bury and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Lord John Russell and Mr. Roebuck in the Imperial Parliament, Sir S. Cunard, Lord Carnarvon, Henry Yule Hind and Sir Sandford Fleming (1862).

But it was in the main a theoretical dream, a ship of thought passing in the night, or a striking peroration for some patriotic speech until, in 1870, the Government of Sir John Macdonald agreed to its construction as the only means of bringing British Columbia into Confederation and the only method of making that union a practical and serviceable one. From this time until 1880 the question was a centre of continually changing storm-clouds of political struggle, and comparatively small practical progress was made. Mr. Sandford Fleming was appointed Engineer-in-Chief in 1871, and published two volumes of Surveys which showed somewhat more clearly than had been generally understood the tremendous difficulties of the undertaking. Then came the battle of the Companies, headed respectively by Sir Hugh Allan, J. J. C. Abbott and Donald A. Smith in Montreal, and by Mr. (afterwards Sir) D. L. Macpherson, Frank Smith and others in Toronto. The Pacific Scandal followed, the Government of Mr. Mackenzie was formed, and

the Liberal policy of constructing sections of the road so as to connect with and utilise various bodies of water was proceeded with. Finally, Sir J. Macdonald came back to power, and, in 1880, with Sir Charles Tupper as Minister of Railways, the contract for the construction of the Canadian Pacific was duly signed, and in 1881 was approved by Parliament. The new Company was strong in reputation and ability and, as it afterwards proved, in determination and vigour. George Stephen (afterwards Lord Mount-Stephen), Donald A. Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal), R. B. Angus, James J. Hill and Duncan McIntyre were the chief promoters. Sir William C. Van Horne came from the United States in 1881 and from that time, either as General Manager or President, directed the destinies of the road until the end of the century. The Company undertook to build and operate the line for a consideration of $25,000,000 and 25,000,000 acres of selected land along its route, together with the right of way through public lands and the necessary ground for stations, docks, wharves, etc. Steel rails, telegraph wire and other dutiable articles were to be admitted free for its first construction. Parts of the road then built were to be handed over by the Government and no line running south in competition was to be permitted.

Great difficulties were encountered from the first. Construction on the north shore of Lake Superior

was a veritable problem in engineering science, and piercing the Rockies and Selkirks was something which has seemed to the traveller of late years a new wonder of the world. Criticism in financial circles, bitter deprecation in political circles, lack of faith in the public itself, met the Company at every turn. The chief promoters and partners in the enterprise staked not only their reputations but their fortunes on it, and yet, more than once, absolute and complete failure stared them in the face. Once the Dominion Government, after grave hesitation and under serious protest from members of its own party as well as the Opposition, advanced $35,000,000 and practically saved the enterprise and its promoters from ruin. The whole amount was paid back in a few years. By the terms of the contract the Railway was to be completed in 1890. As a matter of fact the last spike on the great iron road was driven by Sir Donald A. Smith on November 7th, 1885. It was the successful end of perhaps the greatest financial and engineering enterprise of the nineteenth century. The Government of Canada were involved, for good or ill, in the result, the fortunes of the leading men of Montreal were staked upon it, the welfare of the Bank of Montreal through its Manager, Mr. R. B. Angus, was concerned in it, the fate of the Conservative party depended upon the issue, while the unity of the western and eastern Provinces hung upon its completion. Great fortunes ultimately came to the promoters and peerages

and honours were showered upon them; but only the most carping of critics, or minds unable to comprehend the tremendous strain of such a struggle, could object to their rewards.

To the country the importance of this event can hardly be over-estimated. Towns and villages grew up in a night and remained as the centre of populous agricultural, lumbering or mining regions. Branch lines were sent out in every direction and the great North-West opened up to settlement and cultivation. Port Arthur, Fort William, Rat Portage, Calgary, Vancouver, grew from nothing into towns, and in the last-named case to an important city and a possible rival of San Francisco. Immense elevators were built at central points by the Company for the holding of grain, large steamers were placed on the Great Lakes, telegraph lines were constructed over mountain and prairie, and, in 1892–3, lines of steamships under the control of the Company commenced to run between Vancouver and China and Japan and from the same Pacific port to Honolulu and Australasia. It was the beginning of a new era of progress, the completion of Canadian unity in a material sense, the injection of a new commercial, financial and national life into the veins of the Dominion. Meanwhile, small railways or branch lines had been constructed in every direction as the country was slowly but surely opening up through its sparsely populated area of three million square miles. By absorption of minor roads

and by general construction the Grand Trunk Railway System, in 1897, was possesed of 3,161 miles of rail, receipts amounting to $16,977,000, expenses of $11,363,000, a passenger traffic of $4,856,000 and a freight traffic of $11,167,000. At the same time and in the same way the Canadian Pacific Railway had 6,283 miles of rail, $20,822,000 of receipts, $12,198,000 of expenses, $4,941,000 of passenger traffic and $13,036,000 of freight traffic.* Other lines, including the Government-owned and managed Intercolonial of 1,360 miles, possessed over seven thousand miles of rail and receipts amounting to fifteen millions of dollars.

The progress of transportation interests by sea and on the lakes of Canada was also very marked during this period. Various canals were built, or deepened, in connection with the great waterway stretching from the sea to the head of Lake Superior. The Lachine was improved at a cost of six and a half million dollars, the Beauharnois was replaced by the Soulanges at a cost of four millions, the Welland was deepened and enlarged by an expenditure of over sixteen millions, the Carillon and Grenville were improved at an expense of three millions, and upon the Cornwall, Murray and St. Ann's, respectively, over a million dollars was spent.† The work upon these artificial aids to the continental

* Government Year Book for 1897.

† Official Report by G. F. Baillarge, Deputy Minister of Public Works, Ottawa, 1889.

waterway cost Canada between the time of Confederation and the year 1889 the sum total of $33,960,783. Adding the $21,124,928 spent prior to 1867 and the sums expended on repairs, renewals and maintenance during the whole period, the general cost of Canadian transportation improvements in this connection may be placed at $75,000,000 by the end of the century. The latest work constructed has been the Sault Ste. Marie Canal which connects Lake Superior and Lake Huron over Canadian soil; while in July, 1897, Parliament authorised a further expenditure of four and a half millions for the uniform deepening of the St. Lawrence Canals so as to permit a vessel of 14 feet draught to load at Fort William and pass through to Montreal—fourteen hundred miles—without breaking bulk.

On June 28th, 1894, Lord Aberdeen as Governor-General of Canada unveiled a memorial tablet in the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa in honour of the Royal William which, in 1833, was the first vessel to cross the Atlantic by steam-power. Constructed in Canada and owned by Canadians, it was the pioneer of those mighty fleets of ocean steamers which now cover the seas of the world. The vessels connected with these great fleets and the carrying trade of Canada by sea, between 1869 and 1896, had a total tonnage of 80,000,000 in British ships, 29,000,000 in Canadian and 58,000,000 in Foreign ships. In 1896 the British vessels arriving at Canadian ports numbered 1,684, with a tonnage of 2,350,338; the

Canadian vessels, 6,810, with a tonnage of 1,067,954; and the Foreign vessels, 5,291, with a tonnage of 5,895,360. According to registered tonnage Canada ranked in this year after the United Kingdom, the United States, the German Empire, France and the Netherlands—the two latter standing very little higher in tonnage than the Dominion. Meanwhile, the carrying trade on the Great Lakes had increased enormously until the ships going through the American Sault Ste. Marie Canal possessed a tonnage greater than those carrying the trade of the East and the West through the Suez Canal. In 1868 the vessels arriving and departing from Canadian ports on inland waters had numbered forty thousand—one-third being American. In 1896 they numbered thirty-five thousand, of which one-half belonged to the United States. So far as Canada is concerned these figures do not, therefore, show progress in the right direction; but the stringency of United States regulations, the exclusion from American canals despite the American use upon equal terms of those belonging to Canada, and the enormous growth of American lake-shore populations as compared with the smaller Canadian increase, explain the situation. The tons of freight carried respectively, however, were in 1896 nearly equal in number—slightly over a million.

The coasting trade of the Provinces—inland and seaboard—nearly trebled between 1876 and 1896, and rose from 10,300,000 tons in the first-named

year to 27,431,000 tons at the latter date. Upon all the lakes and shores of Canada, boats, steamers and ships of varied kinds are now plying, and in place of the swift and silent canoe propelled by savages and speeding over the bosom of secret waters at the beginning of the century, there is now heard the shrill whistle of the steamer—not alone in the Great Lakes but on the Lake of the Woods, on Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipeg, in the beautiful regions of Muskoka in Northern Ontario, on the rivers of British Columbia and on all the seacoasts of half a continent from the Yukon to the St. Lawrence. The Canadian Pacific line of steamers on Lake Huron and Lake Superior and the lines running between Vancouver and Sydney, or Vancouver and Hong Kong, are creditable evidences of Canadian enterprise. Sir William Van Horne was a pioneer in this respect, as Sir Hugh Allan, Sir Samuel Cunard and the Hon. L. A. Senecal were in the St. Lawrence or upon the Atlantic. Down the great Canadian river from Montreal there now streams an ever-increasing volume of traffic which the Allan and Dominion Lines carry to Liverpool with the assistance, from Halifax or St. John, of the Beaver and Furness and other lines of steamships. Local lines also now run from the Maritime Provinces to Newfoundland, Jamaica, Bermuda, the West Indies and Cuba.

Shipbuilding has not grown greatly in the years approaching the end of the century. Its flourish-

ing days—in the time when British tariff preferences for timber existed and there was a steady British demand for wooden ships—have passed away, and it is probable that the record of 3,873 ships, with a tonnage of 1,285,000, built at Quebec between 1787 and 1875, will never be repeated. Indeed the number decreased for all Canada from 490 in 1874 to 227 in 1896. Great possibilities and resources exist, however, in connection with the iron and steel industry, and there is no reason why, in time, the seaports of Quebec and Nova Scotia should not again resound with the ring of a new and greater form of shipbuilding and mark the revival in the beginning of the twentieth century of a prominent occupation in the pioneer days of British America at the opening of the nineteenth century.

Intimately connected with the transportation development which had thus bound together Provinces separated by great forests, lakes or mountains has been the tariff history, discussion and policies arising out of these peculiar geographical conditions. Questions of protection and free trade have not been and could not be considered upon the same plan as they are in other countries. The United States has always possessed a home market and a local demand of ever-increasing proportions. Great Britain has had the advantages of immense capital and, in earlier days, of superior skill as well as of consistent protection to its industries. Australia has no great neighbouring competitor and rival such as

the United States. At first, of course, the struggling and isolated British American Colonies had the advantage of the Imperial preferential tariff—which did as much for their timber trade as it did for West Indian sugar. But in the middle of the century came its abrogation and the creation of conditions which soon developed into a complete local control of the tariff and attempts to make better trade arrangements with the American Republic. Incidentally, protection to native industries became a factor in politics and Government. Mr. J. W. Johnston, the Tory leader in Nova Scotia, urged in 1847 the adoption of "a high practical encouragement to the industries" of his Province, as an outcome of the right given to the Colonies in the previous year to regulate their own tariffs. At the same time the Canadian Legislature passed an Address to the Imperial Government asking it to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity with the United States, and, during the years immediately following, placed the Republic, by legislation, upon a fiscal equality with the Empire. In 1858 a large meeting was held in Toronto under the initiative of the Hon. Isaac Buchanan and an Association for the promotion of protection formed. In the same year the Galt Tariff was framed despite protests from the Colonial Secretary and from sundry British manfacturing centres. Like the protests of Canadian public meetings, of private individuals and of the Governor-General himself (Earl Cathcart) against the abro-

gation of the preferential tariff by England, they were disregarded.

The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was abrogated in 1866 and Confederation followed. The Canadian tariff for the ensuing decade averaged seventeen per cent., and, during part of that period, owing to the situation in the United States which immediately succeeded the Civil War, it proved a sufficient protection to local industries. But by 1875 American industries had completely recovered from the shock of war, and were able to pour their surplus goods into the Canadian Provinces at prices that defied the competition of concerns having only a small capital and a confined market. The result was a general demand for further and higher duties, the return to power of Sir John Macdonald, the creation of the "National Policy of Protection" in the Session of 1879, and the maintenance, since that date and despite a change of Government in 1896, of a tariff averaging thirty per cent. in its protection of Canadian industries and products. Whatever may be the technical or theoretical qualities of Protection there can be little doubt, apart from partisan discussion, of the value of this policy to the Canadian Provinces. Like the railways it has proved a great solvent of the difficulties of space, a most useful instrument in the creation of trade interchange amongst isolated communities, a factor in the evolution of national sentiment. Instead of allowing to grow up—or trying to promote as did

the Commercial Union agitation of a decade later—trade between Nova Scotia and the State of Maine, Ontario and New York, Quebec and Vermont, Manitoba and Minnesota, or British Columbia and Washington, it aimed to encourage the interchange of their own products between the various Provinces, over their own railways and to the general advantage of their own people. The policy seems to have been beneficial to internal trade without injuring external commerce. During the five years ending in 1897 the total of exports and imports was in round numbers two hundred millions greater than it had been in the five years ending in 1885; while the estimated trade between the Provinces in 1896 was $116,000,000 as against a million dollars in 1861 * and a comparatively small interchange in 1879.

From 1876 to 1896 the tariff, or questions connected with it, constituted the central topic of Canadian controversy, although the conception and construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway came close upon it in importance and public interest between the years 1872 and 1885. The fiscal issue in the Dominion involved not only the time-honoured problem of protecting home industries without developing monopolies, of promoting industrial interests without injuring agriculture, of helping the producer without hurting the consumer, but it included the

* Report of Hon. W. P. Howland, Sessional Papers of Canada, vol. 5, 1862.

constant discussion of trade relations with Great Britain and the United States and the relative value of the two markets to the Canadian masses. Upon the whole, monopoly has not been encouraged to any serious extent in Canada by the tariff, and the few millionaries whom the country has produced owe their money more to mines and distilleries and railways than to fiscal arrangements. Perhaps the chief exception is the agricultural implement industry with its amalgamation of small concerns in one large Company and its immense and concentrated business. It is safe to say also that no country in the world has such well-distributed wealth and so little real poverty. The Canadian tariff, as it has been under Conservative rule and is now under a Liberal Administration, has been maintained with very fair success as a buffer against the tremendous external competition of both English and American manufacturers, and that of American farm products—though not at a height sufficient to make serious monopoly possible. Its average, in fact, is about one-half the United States rate. In 1888, Sir Charles Tupper, as Minister of Finance, endeavoured to promote iron and steel manufacture in Canada by a re-arrangement of the duties. But whether the tariff and the bonuses were insufficient, or the market too small, or investors too cautious, or perhaps for all three reasons, the effort did not succeed except in a most tentative way. In other directions the tariff has been a partial failure. Ontario

still gets the bulk of its coal from Pennsylvania instead of from Nova Scotia; and Manitoba grumbles about the price of eastern manufactures as it does about the traffic rates charged by the Canadian Pacific. But these have never been very serious complaints, or difficulties, and a majority of the people have continued, in five general elections, to approve the main principle.

The two parties during this period divided very summarily upon the issue of free trade and protection. Mr. Mackenzie refused to dally with the question in the closing days of his *régime*, although he might by doing so have saved the political situation. He had lived a free-trader and he would die as one—in a party sense. It may be thought that the question of principle was not greatly affected as between an average of seventeen per cent. and one of thirty per cent.; but, as already intimated, it certainly did constitute the difference between unlimited American competition and a restricted competition. Mr. Mackenzie and Sir Richard Cartwright were defeated, and from the day, in 1879, when Sir Leonard Tilley announced and carried as Finance Minister his new protective tariff, the Liberal leaders fought vigorously and steadily against the whole system and policy. Sir R. Cartwright defied his opponent of that time, as he did Mr. George E. Foster in later days, upon countless platforms, and everywhere took the ground that free trade in principle is good for the consumer, good

for the farmer, good for every one except the "spoon-fed" manufacturer; though he accepted the condition that a tariff for revenue in a new and young country is necessary. But it should not be protective. Year followed year and election followed election; Mr. Edward Blake succeeded Mr. Mackenzie as leader and Mr. Wilfred Laurier succeeded him; until by 1888 the Liberal Opposition was in a state of natural disappointment and individual pessimism sufficient to make almost any new and aggressive policy acceptable.

This was found in the agitation for closer trade relations with the United States, called variously Unrestricted Reciprocity, Unrestricted Free Trade, and Commercial Union. It was not a difficult issue to raise in a country which had so greatly benefited by the old-time Reciprocity Treaty of 1854--66. Limited in its application to natural products as that arrangement had been, the glamour of prices created by days of war, in a time of reciprocity, still rested in the memories and hearts of many prosperous and many poverty-stricken farmers. Apart from that memorable Treaty and the efforts to renew it which had been made in 1866 by Sir A. T. Galt, Hon. W. P. Howland, Hon. W. A. Henry and Hon. A. J. Smith; in 1869 by Sir John Rose and Sir E. Thornton; in 1871 by Sir John Macdonald at the Washington High Commission Conference; in 1874 by the Hon. George Brown and Sir E. Thornton; in 1887 by Sir Charles Tupper and

Mr. Chamberlain; there had been more than one attempt to advocate and promote a free trade which should be wider in its scope than the mere interchange of natural products. Mr. Ira Gould had urged before the Montreal Board of Trade in 1852 a measure of free trade with the States which should include manufactures and should not trouble about results so far as England was concerned. His motion had been lost by fifteen to six. A Select Committee of the Canadian Legislature composed of men of all parties—Messrs. Hamilton Merritt, William Cayley, John Rose, A. A. Dorion, Isaac Buchanan, Malcolm Cameron and W. P. Howland —had, in 1858, recommended that "the principle of reciprocity be extended to manufactures . . . in the same manner as to the productions of the soil." Elaborate Reports by United States officials—such as that of J. W. Taylor in 1860, E. H. Derby in 1867 and J. N. Larned in 1870—urged the same policy; whilst the Oswego and Chicago Boards of Trade in 1854, Committees of the United States House of Representatives in 1862, in 1876, in 1880, in 1884 and in 1886, and Mr. W. H. Seward, United States Secretary of State, in 1865, supported similar schemes. Mr. L. S. Huntington, afterwards a member of the Mackenzie Government, moved in the Canadian House of Commons on March 16th, 1870, that "a continental system of commercial intercourse, under one general customs union," would be beneficial. The motion was lost by 100 to 58.

The revival of this old idea, in the form of a new policy and under new names, was inaugurated in 1887 by Mr. Erastus Wiman, a wealthy Canadian living in New York, Mr. Goldwin Smith, the pessimistic and erratic but exceedingly able English writer then living in Toronto, and Mr. Valancey E. Fuller, then head of the Ontario Farmers' Institutes, living in Hamilton. Sir Richard Cartwright, in the following year, took up the policy freely and with much frankness, Mr. Laurier did so at a later period with some apparent hesitation, and Sir Oliver Mowat with a dubious approval which was understood to turn upon how far it might affect relations with the Mother Country. The whole controversy, then and afterwards, turned upon what Unrestricted Free Trade with the United States—the phrase generally adopted by the Liberal party—might mean. Mr. Goldwin Smith declared frankly that it involved commercial union with the United States, the adoption of their tariff against England and the complete removal of all duties from the frontiers of Canada and the United States. Messrs. Hitt, Butterworth and Sherman, the chief supporters of the policy in the United States, affirmed the same, and Sir R. Cartwright declared that if discrimination against British goods was necessary he would accept the consequences. Mr. Laurier and Sir Oilver Mowat, and others, asserted that a reciprocity such as they desired in both natural and industrial products could be obtained without

discrimination—though how no one seemed able to explain.* The Conservatives took up the issue, and upon it fought and won the battle of the general elections in 1891. The tariff remained practically unchanged, Unrestricted Free Trade gradually dropped out of the political vocabulary, and the elections of 1896 were carried by the Liberal party upon local issues and apart from the now exhausted tariff question. The final settlement of the prolonged controversy—so far as the nineteenth century is concerned—came with the announcement in 1897 that the Laurier Government intended to initiate a tariff giving British goods a distinct preference in the Canadian market of 25 per cent. It was, however, found impossible to carry this out under the terms of certain Imperial Treaties with Belgium and the old German Zollverein without including those countries. But with the Diamond Jubilee Conference in London between Mr. Chamberlain and the Colonial Premiers, and from the urgent pressure of the Canadian Government, came the abrogation of the troublesome Treaties and, in 1898, the final establishment of a British preferential tariff in the Dominion. At the end of the century, therefore, Canada had done in some measure what England did in the beginning of that period,

* Resolutions in connection with this question were formally presented to the Canadian House of Commons during the Sessions of 1888 and 1889 by Sir R. Cartwright and to the United States House of Representatives in 1889 and 1890.

and had moderated her protective system so as to include within its bounds the products of Great Britain and all portions of the Empire imposing a certain limited range of duties upon Canadian products.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE DOMINION.

The relations of Canada with the Empire were greatly simplified and centred by the pact of Confederation. Railway negotiations and tariff complications between the scattered Colonies found their solution at Ottawa instead of London. The possible area of difference between an Imperial Governor and his Colonial Ministers was narrowed from half a dozen local capitals to the Dominion centre. Issues which a quarter of a century before would have kept the people in a continuous flurry of excitement and Downing Street in a state of strained uncertainty were relegated to the cool and impartial shades of a small chamber in London, where sat the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Local defence, which previously had been a question of arrangement between the Colonial Office and the Colonial Governments of British America, with very doubtful results, became an organised fact with a pledged yearly expenditure of at least a million dollars. The Imperial defences of the east and the west, of Halifax and Esquimault, were united by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and eventually were assisted by a small annual contribution from the

Dominion Government. Negotiations for the promotion of common interests between Great Britain and British America were rendered much easier, and a comprehension of what those interests really were was made more certain, by the establishment of the central Federal authority at Ottawa. The surrender of Canadian territory, or slack attention to Canadian claims and interests, by an Imperial Government burdened with immense and varied responsibilities throughout a world-encircling realm, were rendered improbable—at least without the recognition and voluntary acceptance of the Canadian people. And, of course, Canada's importance to the Empire as a factor in its general strength, as a half-way house for its commerce and as a pivotal point in its naval power, became more evident.

The history of Canada up to that time had been a curious medley of contradictory considerations so far as the advantages of British connection were concerned. Great Britain had purchased its existence and early maintenance at a vast expenditure of men and money in her wars with the French and Indians and American Colonists. She had spent upon its defence forces in times of peace during the nineteenth century at least three hundred millions of dollars.* She had guaranteed Canadian loans to the extent of $20,000,000 and had recived neither

* British Parliamentary Returns, 1853–73, furnished to the author by the courtesy of the War Office; also article by Sir John Lubbock in *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1877.

monetary contribution nor fiscal favour at the hands of the Canadian people. In earlier days she had helped to defray the expenses of their scattered Governments, to pay the cost of colonisation efforts, to support their constitutions in days of rebellion, to defend their borders from invasion; while for a hundred years their coasts and commerce had been guarded from danger by the mighty fleets of the Mother-land. Yet there had been another side to the picture, and it was not a pleasant one. From the earliest days of empire in British America dense and dark ignorance too often prevailed concerning local conditions, needs and aspirations. The Colonial Office embodied crude British views of what the Colonies ought to be and ought to do rather than representing a clear perception of what they were and what they wanted. With a natural but not commendable narrowness it was thought that policies and principles which suited the small area, large and growing population, trained political life and centuries-old constitution of the British Isles should equally apply to the vast spaces, the scattered peoples, the diverse national conceptions and the pioneer life and crude constitutions of a new country. Experiments were manifold, from the granting of dual language rights to the French-Canadians up through all the varied forms of paternal, oligarchic, Colonial Office and semi-popular systems of Government. No single system was adopted and then adhered to. Governors and forms of Govern-

ment were changed as readily as one changes a coat, and continuity of policy seemed to be the last thought, or at least result, of Downing Street administration.

Yet there can be no doubt of the good intentions which existed and of the excellent character of the British statesmen who tried to create or mould the Canadian constitution. Men in charge of the Colonial Department such as Lord Bathurst, Sir George Murray, Lord Goderich, Lord Glenelg, the Marquess of Normanby, Lord John Russell, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Carnarvon and so on up to Mr. Chamberlain at the end of the century, were leaders of the best personal and political type. But there was no continuity of policy. Parties came and went, and with them the Colonial Secretary and the existing Colonial policy. Hence the failure of the Colonial Office on more than one occasion to endorse a Canadian Governor at times when firmness meant the success of his Administration and weakness the addition of greater burdens for his successor and more problems for Downing Street. Hence the utter incapacity shown in many of the negotiations with the United States. Ignorance of the value of territory produced indifference, and out of indifference came diplomatic inefficiency. The weakness of Oswald and the ignorance of Shelburne gave the United States in 1783 the garden of the continent stretching down

through the central valley of the Mississippi and the Ohio. The friendliness of Lord Ashburton to the United States in 1842,* his apparently complete ignorance of the value of the territory in dispute, as including a future winter seaport on the Atlantic for the British American Provinces, and his desire to conclude a Treaty at almost any cost, lost Canada not only a national seaport but a region which was admittedly hers by maps in the possession of Mr. Daniel Webster, the American negotiator, and in the hands of the United States Senate at the time of ratifying the Treaty †—maps which should have been known to Lord Ashburton and which would have been under the conditions prevalent in all more recent negotiations. So in the events preceding the Oregon Treaty of 1846, if British politicians had understood something of American methods and politics, they would not have accepted President Polk's Message of 1845 as indicating any real danger of war, nor would they have permitted the earlier

* Martineau's *History of England*. In Sir A. H. Gordon's *Life of Lord Aberdeen* (page 179) is the statement that when that nobleman was Foreign Secretary he "determined to send a special mission to America and entrusted it to Lord Ashburton who, as the head of the great house of Baring, was nearly as much interested in the peace and prosperity of the United States as in that of Great Britain. . . . He did his work well. . . . It was generally felt that peace was well worth purchasing at the price of a tract of barren pine swamp."

† Thomas Hodgins, Q.C., "British and American Negotiations affecting Canada," in *Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country*, vol. 6.

joint occupation of so-called disputed territory by which the Republic acquired claims which were pressed in an ever-increasing ratio of progression—with a final compromise leaving the United States in possession of soil to which discovery and colonisation seem to have alike entitled Canada or Great Britain.

Had English statesmen in those days been possessed of Imperial prescience Lord Aberdeen would not have declined to accept California from Mexico for fear of hurting the susceptibilities of the United States,* nor would Lord Derby for the same reason have refused Sir John Macdonald's proposal, as included in the first draft of the British North America Act, to make Canada in name a Kingdom, instead of a dependent Dominion. And the Behring Sea and Yukon and Alaska boundary troubles of a later date would have been prevented by an acceptance of the subsequent opportunity to acquire Alaska from Russia. So with Newfoundland and the French-shore question, to say nothing of far-away opportunities lost and complications created by such wasted chances as have occurred in the Orange Free State, Delagoa Bay and the Island of New Guinea. I have said elsewhere in this volume that the maintenance and strength of British sentiment in Canada constitute one of the miracles of the nineteenth century. And there cannot be the

* *Ltfe of Lord Aberdeen*, by Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, p. 193.

slightest doubt of this fact to those who are familiar with the utterances and recorded views of British statesmen during the decades which immediately followed the middle of the century. Men such as Lord Ellenborough and Lord Brougham, Sir William Molesworth and Lord Ashburton himself, Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, Lord Derby and Lord John Russell, expressed not only a willingness to let Canada and the Colonies go if they desired to do so, but a belief that they would eventually and necessarily sever their Imperial connection. Colonial permanent officials such as Sir Henry Taylor and Sir F. Rogers—afterwards Lord Blachford—are on record as advising that steps be taken to prepare for and to hasten the event. The latter, when Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, had the almost incredible impertinence to write his Chief, the Duke of Newcastle, that: "As to our American Possessions I have long held and often expressed the opinion that they are a sort of *damnosa hereditas;* and when Your Grace and the Prince of Wales were employing yourselves so successfully in conciliating the Colonists, I thought you were drawing closer ties which might better be slackened. I think that a policy which has regard to a not very far-off future should prepare facilities and propensities for separation."

Little wonder that a small party, and perhaps a larger public opinion of a secret character, developed in all the Colonies in favour of eventual independ-

ence. Little wonder that for a time the cry of "Cut the painter" was popular amongst the young men of the Australasian Colonies, whilst the note of "Little England" found its echo throughout the British North America. Little wonder that Lord Elgin voiced the feeling of all loyal men in the external states of the Empire and of many another British Governor in other parts of the world, and in later days, when he wrote to Lord Grey, Colonial Secretary, on November 16th, 1849, a vigorous and afterwards oft-repeated protest against the utterances of Imperial statesmen—declaring that: "When I protest against Canadian projects for dismembering the Empire, I am always told that the most eminent statesmen in England have over and over again told us that when we choose we might separate." Little wonder that when Mr. Edward Blake, in 1875, delivered the well-known Aurora speech in which he advocated Imperial Federation, as opposed to a future of Independence, it was like a voice crying in the wilderness. Little wonder that years afterwards and for a brief space the Liberal party in Canada seemed inclined to adopt the then cast-off garments of the old English school of Imperial negation and even showed some willingness to cultivate American relations rather than British. They have since more than atoned as a governing party for views which probably originated in the lack of sympathy shown by England during so many years—1846 to 1872—

with Colonial ambitions and development; and have carefully avoided the pitfalls of a policy which, in 1891, made Mr. Edward Blake cast his Imperial hopefulness to the winds and come forward with the pessimistic expression of a belief that Canada stood on the verge of annexation to the United States.

But no neglect of territorial rights, no ignorance of the needs of the Provinces, no mistakes in administration and policy, no slights inflicted upon public sentiment, could really and permanently affect the loyalty of the Canadian population. Prior to Confederation it was a sentiment based upon the traditions of United Empire Loyalists, upon the home feeling of British emigrants, upon the sense of French-Canadians that British connection best conserved their institutions, their religion and their racial affinities, and upon a general consciousness of the self-evident weakness of the scattered Provinces. After Confederation it became associated with a deeper feeling of affection for a new and broadening Canadian empire—the home of a future nation of the north. For a brief period the future perhaps was in doubt, and the issue involved in that serious test of Canadian loyalty—the Washington Treaty of 1871—was a serious one. Had the details of the negotiations been known the arrangement could never have passed the Canadian House of Commons. For the admission of Americans to the inshore fisheries of the Atlantic coast Canada got little immediate return, although, in 1877, the

Halifax Arbitration awarded $5,500,000 to the Dominion as against the $14,500,000 which she had claimed for their ten years' use. Reciprocity was absolutely refused, the Fenian Raid claims were not even discussesd, the subsequent arbitration of the ownership of the Island of San Juan gave that important place to the United States, and the settlement of the Alaskan boundary has proved to be a broken reed. Sir John Macdonald, however, exerted the powers of his wonderful personality and appealed to all the dormant loyalty of the people and Parliament to accept a Treaty whose rejection might involve the Empire and the Republic in war —and his appeal was successful.

If Canadians had known that in the meetings of that High Commission at Washington Sir John Macdonald stood practically alone, and in many cases was obliged to oppose the combined English and American Commissioners in defence of Canadian interests, even he could not have stirred their loyalty to the point of accepting the arrangement made. The correspondence which has, since his death, been published, shows the courageous and continuous contest which he fought for Canada and reveals the intense anxiety of the English Commissioners—partly under pressure from the Home Government and partly under the belief that President Grant meant the fiery threats of war contained in his annual Message—to carry home with them a Treaty which should remove the cloud of possible

conflict hanging over the two nations.* It was the last time in Imperial history when there has been any serious thought of sacrificing Canadian interests upon the altar of peace. Since then Canada has become the practical negoiator of its own treaties, subject to final Imperial approval, but endorsed by the aid of British ambassadors and helped by the backing of Imperial *prestige* and diplomatic experience. The negotiation of the Fisheries Treaty of 1888 by Mr. J. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Tupper which the United States Senate refused to accept; the making of the French Commercial Treaty and the negotiations with Spain and Brazil; the intercolonial negotiations between Canada and Australasia which culminated in the Ottawa Conference of 1894; the similar efforts with the British West Indies, and with Cape Colony between Mr. Cecil Rhodes and the late Sir John Thompson; illustrate this fact and indicate the different status to which Confederation has raised the British American Provinces as well as the change which has come over the whole external and internal relations of the countries of the Empire.

But, if the sympathies of the English-speaking people of Canada have been maintained towards the Mother-land by memories of an historic and national character and of the French-speaking people by appreciation of liberties and privileges

* *Life of Sir John A. Macdonald*, by Joseph Pope, Ottawa, 1894.

preserved intact; if, on the other hand, such feelings have sometimes been alienated by lack of comprehension on the part of Britain and dulness of vision on the part of British statesmen; there has been mixing and merging with these influences and moulding many of the characteristics and political incidents of Canadian history the powerful factor of United States contiguity. It, of course, affected the very foundations of the country through the immigration and bitter memories of the United Empire Loyalists and the subsequent defence of their homes and hearths from invasion by the French-Canadians. The sympathy of the lawless and sometimes cultured and intelligent elements of the Republic made the small rebellions of Canadian history more significant and more difficult of settlement. Its fiscal hostility and very occasional fiscal friendship run through every page of our annals as an alternate policy of coercion and conciliation—always with a more or less veiled belief that "manifest destiny" must in the end compel the assimilation of Canada with its own powerful community. Its influence affected to some extent the school-books and educational systems of the Provinces, the political character of the people, the earlier phases of banking legislation and the social manners and customs of all the country outside of Quebec. Its journalism has controlled—in a modified way—the press of Canada; and its literature in the later form of cheap magazines and multitudinous books of an

ephemeral character has swept the whole field of Canadian readers. Its cable service from London to New York controls the news columns of the Canadian press as it does the pages of American papers. Its superior wealth and great financial and industrial resources have at times manipulated the Canadian market and affected the welfare of most vital Canadian interests. Finally, the pressure of so many millions of people upon the southern border of Canada has had a curiously complicated and general effect connected with, and yet frequently apart from, the above considerations.

It has made the people of the Dominion very democratic and very apt to be ignorantly critical of English institutions with all their peculiar mingling of aristocratic forms and popular control. It has prevented Canadians from being, very often, the monarchists from principle which they are through personal loyalty to the Queen and her interpretation of monarchical rule. It has made them see England's House of Lords and Established Church and other cherished home institutions through American or British Radical glasses rather than by the medium of that appreciation of historic structures which it might be supposed that distance in time and space would make natural and appropriate. It has made possible a public opinion of British political leaders such as Beaconsfield, Salisbury and Chamberlain which partakes more of the American view than of the sympathising Imperial sentiment which, how-

ever, the end of the century is rendering possible. It must be remembered that since the United States Civil War the cabled statements, opinions and sketches of English Tory leaders have been almost entirely from the standpoint of their political opponents, while matters connected with the development of the Empire abroad, or of its unity at home, have received but scant attention. To-day in Canada, as an illustration, there is but little comprehension of the great work done by Mr. Disraeli in checking the separatist policy of the Manchester school and little knowledge of the splendid Imperial ideals of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. To many the one is an historical charlatan, the other a selfish capitalist. It is, of course, not unnatural that the American view of British public life or Imperial unity should be the view of a foreigner out of sympathy with its principles and out of touch with its progress—except where there has been a Radical effort to effect changes in the direction of American ideals. But it is a pity that such a foreign view should have been grafted to so great an extent upon the Canadian mind by the constant reading of American papers and American cabled news.

Upon the other hand, the contiguity of the United States has had a centrifugal as well as a centripetal effect. Proximity has made Canadians aware of the anomalies of its constitution, the admitted corruption of its politics, the inequalities in its treatment of coloured peoples, the evils of its elective

judicial system, the extreme sensationalism and untrustworthiness of a part of its press, and (up to the year 1898 and the Spanish War) the bitterness of its popular feeling toward England. The very power and population of the United States have helped to keep Canada loyal to the Empire. Pressure of this kind forced, or helped to force, the Provinces into federation, and knowledge of the greatness of the Republic and the competition of its boundary, fishery, trade and tariff interests with those of Canada have prevented the growth of that independence sentiment in the Dominion which so many British politicians of earlier days tried to promote and which it might have been thought the French-Canadians themselves would favour. Hostile expressions and policy towards Canada and England, however, coupled with a knowledge of certain American defects in character, institutions and politics, did more than discourage independence agitation and sentiment. They destroyed the probability and possibility of annexation. There was a time when danger in this direction really threatened Canada. It never came from fear of the United States, nor from threats of coercion. It did not come from the prolonged teachings and efforts of Mr. Goldwin Smith and his oft-reiterated prophecy of continental union. It did not come from any feeling against England—unless it were an unconscious one—nor did it emanate from movements in the direction of greater local independence within

the Empire. It was not facilitated by the formation of an Annexationist Association in Montreal in 1849 any more than it was by the organisation of the Continental Union Association of Ontario in June, 1892, with Mr. Goldwin Smith as Hon. President and a consequent large distribution of annexationist literature throughout the country.

It came about by what seems, in 1888 and immediately succeeding years, to have been a strong, sudden and apparently widespread feeling that Canada was lying between two great streams of commercial life and sharing in neither. A portion of the people were aroused by the full tide of prosperity at that time visible in the United States, and expressed through the medium of the Commercial Union agitation referred to in the preceding chapter, to a consciousness of the comparative smallness and slownesss of Canadian development in connection with the continent as a whole. Another and a larger portion were stirred up by the advocacy of the Imperial Federation League, and the vigorous presentation of its principles on the platform and in the press, to a vivid perception of the national future opening out before them as partners in the power and resources and commerce of the British Empire. These two principles—unconsciously to the people at large—came into conflict at the general elections of 1891, and the British sentiment obtained the victory. The whole issue was a blessing in disguise, just as its meaning or import at the

time was concealed and unperceived by the masses. Politics were mixed up with it and helped to obscure the real position. It was never in any sense a deliberate issue of loyalty against disloyalty or annexation against federation. But it was decidedly a contest of tendencies. Had the American tendency got the upper hand the result might have been very serious, and the parting of the ways in Canadian history have really proved a sliding scale towards continental assimilation. As it was, a most tempting commercial bait was refused, the British tendencies triumphed, all parties accepted the result and the sliding scale turned towards Imperial unity.

Meanwhile, the very practical element of a growing commerce, which was being developed along eastern and western routes of transportation, rather than in a southern direction where tariff obstacles barred the way, was slowly but surely bringing Great Britain and Canada together in the bonds of a common material interest. It was a somewhat curious process and, in the teeth of so-called natural laws and the effects of contiguity, has afforded a striking illustration of the influence wielded by careful legislation and the progress of transportation facilities. At Confederation much of Canadian produce sought its market in Great Britain by way of the United States, over American railways and waterways and at the hands of American middlemen. At the end of the century the great bulk

of an export trade to Great Britain which has risen from seventeen millions in 1868 to ninety-three millions in 1898 goes *via* Canadian railways, or the St. Lawrence River, to help supply the teeming millions of the Mother-land. During those thirty years, despite the proximity of its market and the facilities of inter-communication, Canadian exports to the American Republic have only risen from twenty-two to thirty-four millions. Of course, hostile tariffs have had something to do with this result, but it seems probable that even under lower duties increased exports to the United States would to a great degree have simply replaced similar American products shipped to Great Britain. Similarity of conditions and the fact that the United Kingdom is the common market of both countries for agricultural products makes this inevitable. Yet for many years—up to 1891 in fact—the value of the two markets to Canada in actual export was about equal. From the year named, however, the change took place, and the export to Great Britain first doubled and then trebled upon the figures of Canadian export to the States. For the whole thirty years the total shows $1,260,000,000 worth of products sent to the United Kingdom and $955,000,000 worth to the United States.

The import trade of Canada in this period shows an exactly opposite condition of affairs, and yet it is not one seriously detracting from the conclusions which may be arrived at from a study of the ex-

ports. In 1868 the imports from Great Britain were thirty-six millions of dollars and in 1898 four millions less, while in the meantime imports from the United States had risen from twenty-six to seventy-eight millions. Viewed in the bulk these figures do not look much like an increase in trade with Great Britain which might be considered of advantage to the Mother-land as well as to Canada. Analysing the figures, however, it is found that a very large part of Canadian imports from the States is, and has been, composed of raw material for manufacture or consumption and which Great Britain either does not produce or can hardly expect to compete in. From the coal mines of Pennsylvania, and in preference to its own mines in Nova Scotia, Canada took, in 1898, nearly ten million dollars' worth of coal and coke. From the Republic she received at the same time five and a half millions of cotton and cotton goods—mainly raw cotton from the South—while, however, taking three and a quarter millions' worth of manufactured cotton from England. Some thirteen millions' worth of Indian corn, wheat and various breadstuffs were also imported from the States together with eight millions' worth of hides and skins, gutta percha, indiarubber and wood, or manufactures of wood. These were all products in which Great Britain could hardly expect to compete—although to them, unfortunately, is now to be added an important item which stood a few years ago in a dif-

ferent category. For the first twenty years of Confederation Canada imported iron and steel in about equal quantities from England and the States. Then the scale commenced to turn, and in 1898 the Dominion took fourteen million dollars' worth from the Republic and only two millions from the Motherland. Contiguity had something to do with the result, but the main influence has been the undoubted all-round advance of the United States in connection with this great industry. Then there is, of course, a scattering import of manufactures in which the small total of each import, when combined, becomes a fairly large amount owing to the infinite variety of American industries and the special convenience or local taste which has at times to be consulted. In important lines, however, such as cottons, woollens, flax, hemp and jute, silk, etc., Great Britain fully holds her own, and, as the preferential tariff of 1898 comes into full and fair operation, the advantage should gradually but surely be on her side. Even as it is, the fact may fairly be considered surprising that, between 1868 and 1898, Great Britain should have exported to Canada a total of $1,331,000,000 worth of goods (nearly all manufactured) as compared with $1,464,000,000 exported by the United States to the Dominion and made up, in large but fluctuating proportions, of raw material and agricultural products.

About the same time that the export trade of Canada to Great Britain was commencing to in-

crease by leaps and bounds a strong movement had developed, partly because of the Imperial Federation propaganda and partly out of protest against the continental trade advocacy of the day, in favour of preferential trade relations with the Mother-land. Mr. D'Alton McCarthy and others spoke frequently upon the subject, and, on April 25th, 1892, Mr. Alexander McNeill proposed in the House of Commons that: "If and when the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland admits Canadian products to the markets of the United Kingdom upon more favourable terms than it accords to the products of foreign countries, the Parliament of Canada will be prepared to accord corresponding advantages by a substantial reduction in the duties it imposes upon British manufactured goods." Mr. (afterwards Sir) L. H. Davies moved in amendment and on behalf of the Liberal party that: "Inasmuch as Great Britain admits the products of Canada into her ports free of duty, this House is of the opinion that the present scale of duties exacted on goods mainly imported from Great Britain should be reduced." The amendment was defeated on a party division and the main motion accepted by 97 to 63 votes. But both Resolutions showed how the lines of cleavage in British *versus* American trade ideals were being softened and the two parties drawn together. A little later, on January 12, 1893, Mr Wilfrid Laurier, at a meeting in Toronto, declared that "the very idea of Imperial Federation is to me

very alluring." In 1894 the Ottawa Conference took place, and Delegates from all the Australasian Colonies and the Cape joined with those of Canada in discussing questions of closer Colonial union—commerce, cables and tariffs—and amongst other important Resolutions declared that: "This Conference records its belief in the advisability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her Colonies by which trade within the Empire may be placed on a more favourable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries." In the political campaign of 1896, Sir Charles Tupper, in his Manifesto, urged "a tariff based on mutual concessions" as between Canada and the Empire, and the Liberals, after defeating him at the polls, put in practice, in 1897, a part of the proposal—sustaining at the same time the policy of their Parliamentary Resolution of 1892.

Other steps in the movement for closer Imperial Unity followed. Sir Henry Strong became a member of the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council where he sat in judgment with representatives from Australia and the Cape as well as from the British Isles. The famine in India brought out an expression of the Imperial sympathy in Canadian hearts to the amount of $200,000. The Hon. William Mulock, as Canadian Postmaster-General, in 1898 became the means of realising in result the prolonged labours of Mr. Henniker Heaton, M. P., in England, and Imperial penny postage was pro-

claimed an established fact. In July of the same year a Military Commission, appointed by the Imperial Government, examined the defences of Canada with a view to their improvement, while Major-General E. T. H. Hutton, C.B., after a distinguished experience in Australia, came out as Commander of the Canadian Milita. In the succeeding year occurred the sweeping expression of Canadian loyalty and British sentiment embodied in the despatch of Contingents of three thousand troops to South Africa—a fitting event with which to stamp the end of a century of conflicting development and very varied views as to the future of British America. The parting of the ways had indeed come, and the chosen road seems now to lead straight to the goal of a united and permanent Empire despite struggles which must still occur and difficulties which must inevitably be met. And in this connection the words of Sir John A. Macdonald, whose life and memory constitute such a bulwark of British sentiment on this American continent—spoken in 1888—should not be forgotten: "I look forward to the time when Australia, if not confederated so closely as ourselves, will have a confederation for offence and defence; when South Africa will also be a Confederation; and when there shall be determined by treaty the quota to be furnished by our auxiliary nations toward the defence of the Empire."

It is evident, therefore, that the Dominion has

now at the end of the nineteenth century reached a platform of permanent national policy. Despite the mistakes of English diplomats and the coldness, or indifference, of earlier Imperial leaders, its people are strongly British in sentiment, and the one-time frequently expressed aspirations for independence are no more heard of. Despite the glamour of American wealth and commercial greatness the trend of Canadian trade and tariffs is toward the Mother-land. Despite the proximity of American institutions, the influence wielded by the ideals of an immense and populous democracy and their admitted effect upon the opinion of individuals, the Canadian system of Government is in the main a duplication of the British Constitution with all its historic charters, precedents and practices. The supremacy of the law and the public respect for decisions of an absolutely independent judiciary; the controlling power of the House of Commons, under the law of the realm and combined with the principle of Ministerial responsibility; the permanence and independence of the Civil Service of Canada and the constitutional usages of its Parliament, Legislatures and Governments; all approximate to the Imperial model of Great Britain. It is a wonderful fact under the varied circumstances surrounding Canadian development that such should be the case and is perhaps only less so than the existence and power of the Empire to which the Dominion adheres.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PEOPLE AND THE COUNTRY AT THE END OF THE CENTURY.

During the thirty years which have followed Confederation the general progress of Canada has been very great. Not only has the country grown in constitutional status, expanded territorially from ocean to ocean, developed in fiscal freedom and taken immense strides in the creation of transportation facilities, but its people have obtained a wider outlook through their closer connection with the Empire, while public life and the private culture of the community have developed in a beneficial though somewhat cosmopolitan manner. The Dominion still remains essentially a country of farms and farmers. Despite the existence and continued growth of cities and the now settled tendency of young men to drift from the farms into industrial and populous centres for the purposes of employment, or professional studies and pursuits, the agricultural element continues to be the backbone of Canadian life and strength. Toronto has increased, since 1881, from 96,000 people to double that number, Montreal from 155,000 to 250,000, Victoria from 6,000 to 20,000, Vancouver from nothing to

20,000, Winnipeg from 8,000 to 40,000, and smaller places in proportion. Yet the equality of growth, as between rural and urban life, has been fairly well maintained by the agricultural development of the great North-West, the progress of mining in British Columbia and the general development of North-western Ontario. There were in 1891 649,000 farmers and farmers' sons in the Dominion and some 76,000 farm labourers. The number constituted a slight decrease over the figures of 1881, owing to the causes mentioned, but there is little doubt that the figures of the next Census will show a considerable increase in this branch of the population as a result of the continued and very apparent opening up of new regions.

Statistics are never interesting, but they are sometimes necessary, and the future of Canada depends so decidedly upon its agricultural position that it is well to note here something of what has already been achieved. Throughout Manitoba, where the golden grain waves in the passing summer breezes like a sea of molten gold, there is land capable of bearing, according to Sir C. E. Howard Vincent, a crop of two hundred million quarters of wheat, and in 1898 its total production of grain reached 47,000,000 bushels. In the great grain elevators which have been erected by the Canadian Pacific and the Milling Companies the capacity has been increased from eight million bushels in 1891 to eighteen million bushels in 1898. The total farm property of

Ontario, including farm lands, implements, buildings and live stock, was valued in 1897 at $905,000,000—a decrease of fifty millions in fourteen years. In view, however, of the generally low prices which have prevailed for farm products, the severe competition of Manitoba, the influence of hostile American tariffs and the continental and, in fact, world-wide decrease in the values of land, this is not a bad showing.

As a matter of fact the farmers of Canada constitute one of the most prosperous classes which are to be found in any community. In Ontario, mile after mile of comfortable farmhouses, large barns and well-cultivated fields testify of this fact to the passing traveller. Inside these houses the change is very great from the conditions of fifty or even thirty years ago. The organ or piano has taken the place of the spinning-wheel; easy chairs and cushioned lounges replace the old-fashioned furniture of the stiff-backed past or the home-made articles of pioneer days; fashionable garments, for Sunday at any rate, have replaced amongst the females of the family the homespun material of a previous generation; carriages or buggies have succeeded for many purposes to the farm waggons of other days. Sometimes, however, a mortgage has come to kill the old-time independence of the farmer. And in some other respects improvement cannot be said to have been marked. The diet of the farm is not good. There is too much pork and pie, and too little of the

cream which goes in such abundant measure into cheese and butter for purposes of sale. And it may even be said that there is not enough of that health-giving beer which helps to make the English farmer so sturdy and strong. "Gentleman farming" is largely a matter of the past, and there are but few "Squires" in the Canadian community. Work is persistent, and for the man pleasure is too rare; prices are low, and many have strained their means to set up sons in the far-away North-West. Yet upon the whole the Canadian farmer is well off, and when he keeps in touch with scientific improvements, with proper changes in crop, with the recommendations and experience of the Experimental Government Farms, he can always do better. In the North-West ranching has taken the place of ordinary farming, and the boast of possessing "cattle upon a thousand hills" has become a Canadian privilege.

To Great Britain the farmer is steadily turning more and more as being his great market. In 1867 he exported to that country $4,546,000 of animal and agricultural products and to the United States $14,800,000. In 1897 he sent to Britain forty-five millions' worth and to the Republic only seven millions' worth. The Maritime Provinces and Quebec have not shared so much in this expansion as they should have done, owing to primitive methods of farming amongst French-Canadians and the rival influences of shipbuilding, lumbering or mining

amongst the people on the Atlantic coast. But in the last few years great efforts have been made to share in the increase of cattle-raising, the phenomenal growth of the cheese industry and the improvement in butter-making which have marked agricultural progress in other parts of the Dominion. Altogether, the development of these years has been satisfactory, and is illustrated by the fact that between 1881 and 1891 the total of acres occupied in Canada increased by fifteen millions, the acres of improved land by seven millions, the production of wheat by ten million bushels, of oats by twelve millions, of fruit by twenty-three millions. The export of cattle increased in value from $951,000 in 1874 to over seven million dollars in 1897 and the export of cheese from $620,000 worth in 1868 to a value of over seventeen millions in 1898.

Intimately connected with the farm life of the country is the nature of the homes and habits of the people generally. Partly owing to the slow growth of population—according to the Census returns it was 3,635,024 in 1871, 4,324,810 in 1881 and 4,833,239 in 1891—and the consequent preponderance of a better class of population than is possible in communities where the increase is large and promiscuous; partly because of the strict tenets of Presbyterianism, the consistent influence of Roman Catholicism and the objection of the Church of England to divorce; the moral sentiment and character of the Canadian people have remained at a high

point of excellence. Out of the 840,000 immigrants who are said to have come into the country between 1868 and 1898* many went on and settled in the United States and the balance were composed, as a rule, of the best class of settlers—people with some small means and with a clearly defined national sentiment which made them prefer living in a land where they could retain their allegiance to an acceptance of the more glittering and surface attractiveness of a great foreign Republic where their nationality would be lost. Distinctly alien elements have not been encouraged as settlers, and up to 1898, when some 6,000 Galicians were settled in the North-West, the great majority of immigrants have been from the British Isles—with a tendency amongst the Irish element to drift away to the United States. In addition to this gradual growth of the Canadian population having been of benefit to the moral status of the community, it has, in vast regions of the North-West, also enabled the full machinery of popular government to be evolved and thoroughly practised before the inevitable flood of future population finds its way thither.

Following the early social sentiments of the Provinces, when the Church of Rome in Quebec stamped the seal of its absolute disapproval upon

* The figures of immigration into Canada are admittedly defective. This total is, however, furnished by the Dominion Statistician from the best available statements and is as nearly accurate as possible.

divorce, and was fully endorsed in that connection by the rigid tenets of Presbyterianism and the feelings of English Churchmen in the other Colonies, Canada since Confederation has been notable for an old-time adherence to the sacredness of the marriage tie and for its open objection to the growing looseness of legislation and sentiment in the United States upon the subject. In Ontario, Quebec, the Territories and Manitoba complete separation can only be obtained through public application to Parliament and trial by the Senate, and then only for the Scriptural reason. The Maritime Provinces and British Columbia have Provincial Courts, and, since Confederation, 196 divorces have been granted by them. Parliament has only granted sixty divorces, and these figures therefore constitute the sum-total during thirty years in a population of four or five millions. The Temperance question since 1867 has been a much-discussed one. It has assumed every form of agitation and legislation from moderate restriction to entire prohibition. The Dunkin Act—a local option measure—was in force in parts of Upper and Lower Canada at Confederation. In 1875, Sir Charles Tupper proposed and carried through Parliament a Prohibitory Act for the North-West Territories dealing chiefly with the sale of liquor to Indians. Three years later the Hon. R. W. Scott carried his famous Canada Temperance Act which relegated the power of Prohibition to the cities and counties of the Dominion and

was voted upon in nine of the former and seventy-three of the latter. After many years of ups and downs and much energetic and eloquent advocacy in earlier days by Mr. George E. Foster and Mr. George W. Ross—the one afterwards Dominion Minister of Finance and the other Premier of Ontario—the Act is now in force (1899) in one city and twenty-seven counties. But of these only three are outside the Maritime Provinces.

Various attempts have been made to obtain total Prohibition in the Provinces and in the Dominion. Manitoba, in 1892, polled a majority of eleven thousand five hundred for the principle, Prince Edward Island in 1893 gave it seven thousand two hundred majority, Nova Scotia in 1894 polled one of thirty-one thousand four hundred, and Ontario in the same year voted in its favour by eighty-one thousand seven hundred majority. Emboldened by these successes, though they were never put into legislative practice, the advocates of Prohibition obtained in 1898 a Dominion Plebiscite upon the question and a majority of 13,687 in the country as a whole. But as Quebec voted in the most overwhelming manner against the proposal—with a majority of 98,000—and as the total votes polled for and against it were only 43 per cent. of the votes on the Dominion lists, the Government very properly refused to consider the result of the test as a popular mandate in favour of Prohibition. As a whole the Canadian community is essentially a temperate one.

It does not consume as much whiskey as the Scotch, as much beer as the English, or as much lager and other stimulants as the Americans. The French *habitant* is by nature temperate and indulges chiefly in light home-made wines; the farmer elsewhere in the country drinks little and is usually very steady in his habits; while the cities have not the large vicious element possessed by greater centres of population in older countries. Temperance societies, temperance lodges in various labour and political organisations, and temperance banquets, have in late years been steadily increasing. It is interesting to note in this connection that while the population has increased by perhaps a million, the convictions for drunkenness between 1885 and 1898 have remained stationary—a little over eleven thousand in the respective years. In 1886 there were 3,509 convictions for indictable offences and 30,365 summary convictions in all Canada as against totals of 5,787 and 32,419 respectively in 1898. In the latter year the inmates of the Penitentiaries of Canada included 1,446, of whom the great majority were native-born. One-half were of French extraction, eleven hundred were able to read and write and nearly a half were between the ages of twenty and thirty. Contrary to popular belief only 445 were intemperate in their original habits.

Turning from these considerations to the all-important point of religious development, it is probable that the most instructive feature of the three de-

cades following Confederation has been the tendency toward denominational unity and friendship. The class distinctions which in earlier days tended to keep various religious bodies apart have largely disappeared, while the objections to an interchange of pulpits have gradually died away in all the Christian divisions outside of the Church of Rome and the Church of England. A more cosmopolitan spirit has entered into the majority of Canadian Churches, and the country as a whole has not remained outside the stream of modern tendency toward a pulpit which is able to treat, or which aims at treating, of every branch of social life as well as of theological theory or dogmatic principle. Meantime unity has been in the air. In 1868 the Free Church Synod of the Maritime Provinces and the Church of Scotland Synods of those three Provinces combined. In 1875 the Church of Scotland in Canada and the Canada Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces came together in a general union which soon embraced the whole Dominion denomination. In the previous year the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of Canada, the Canadian New-Connection Conference and the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern British America combined as the Methodist Church of Canada. By 1883 the feeling of religious, or denominational, kinship had so matured that the Methodist Church of Canada united its forces with those of the Primitive Methodists, the Bible Christians and the Methodist Episcopal Church in

a general Dominion body—The Methodist Church in Canada.

In Canada as a whole the Roman Catholic Church maintained its numerical supremacy and, in 1891, had nearly two million adherents, or 41.21 per cent. of the population, as compared with the Methodist 17.54 per cent., the Presbyterian 15.63 per cent. and the Church of England 13.37 per cent. The Methodists had 847,000, the Presbyterians 755,000 and the Church of England 646,000 adherents according to this Census. In Ontario, between 1871 and 1891, the greatest increase had been with the Methodists, the Presbyterians coming next, the Roman Catholics third and the Anglicans fourth. In Quebec the Church of Rome added 272,000 to the number of its adherents and the Protestant denominations only a few scattering thousands. The three Maritime Provinces placed the Roman Catholics first in their growth and the Methodists second —the Church of England in two of the Provinces actually showing a decrease. In Manitoba, British Columbia and the Territories, however, the Presbyterian Church came first in its increase, the Church of England second, the Methodists third and the Roman Catholics fourth. Taking the Dominion as a whole, and during these two decades, the Church of Rome increased its adherents to the number of 429,000, the Methodists 256,000, the Presbyterians 161,000 and the Church of England 120,000. It will thus be seen that from being first in numbers

and influence in three of the old Provinces of British America the last-named denomination has become last among the chief divisions of Christianity. The other most notable feature of these religious facts is the marked growth of Roman Catholicism in all the older Provinces of the Dominion. The Baptists made substantial progress during this period and especially in church building—in which connection, however, the Church of England led all the Protestant denominations and the Church of Rome.

Between Confederation and the end of the century there was an immense advance in educational systems and facilities. Not that the principle aimed at by men like Dawson, Rand, Chauveau and Ryerson was changed by their successors, but that a proper appreciation of the desirability of free schools and good schools was brought home to the minds of the people and better means were consequently given in all the Provinces for improvement and development. In Ontario, where the subject received the most attention and organised effort, a great advance has been made. The School Act of 1871 amended the system of 1850 very considerably; and in 1876 the position of nominated Chief Superintendent of Education was abolished and the schools were placed under the charge of a political Minister. Since then the system has been much centralised and modified and has been administered from 1883 to 1899 by the Hon. George W.

Ross. In 1871 the average attendance at the free, or public, schools was 188,000; in 1896 it was 271,000. The number of High Schools had only increased by twenty-seven, but the expenditure upon them had risen over six hundred thousand dollars. The Catholic Separate Schools had received the benefit of sundry amendments to the law and had increased from 161 to 339. In Quebec the system was slowly improved in details, but the main principle of governing by means of Catholic and Protestant Committees of Public Instruction, with complete control of their respective funds under the general guidance and responsibility of a Superintendent, remained the same. From 1876 to 1895 the Hon. Gédèon Ouimet held the position of Superintendent and did good service to the general cause of education in his Province where, in 1897, there were 307,000 children attending school as compared with 212,000 at Confederation. The Roman Catholic schools, including colleges and universities, numbered 5,848. The Catholic clergy of Quebec during these decades ministered unceasingly to the cause of education—in that combined moral, Christian and secular form which they inculcate. To them Quebec owes seventeen colleges, and to the teaching Orders of women a very large number of scholars owe an education which is excellent in scope and character. In these days of advanced women and of masculine pursuits and occupations for females it is interesting to note that, in 1896,

over thirteen thousand children in the Province studied domestic economy, over sixteen thousand learned knitting and more than twelve thousand mastered the twin arts of sewing and emboidery.* It may be added here that in 1896 there were over 30,000 male students being educated by Roman Catholic relgious Orders throughout Canada, while 44,000 female students were being trained by the various Sisterhoods.

In Nova Scotia the School system is under the control of a Chief Superintendent of Education, and the position since Confederation has been held by Dr. T. H. Rand, the Rev. A. S. Hunt, Dr. David Allison and Dr. Alexander H. MacKay. It has worked well in the promotion of public interests through an increase of teachers from 1,360 in 1867 to 2,438 in 1896, in the increased average attendance of pupils from 36,000 to 53,000, in the growth of popular assessments for school purposes from $353,000 to $570,000, and in the addition of $80,000 to the amount of the Provincial grant for education. In New Brunswick Dr. Theodore H. Rand held charge as Chief Superintendent from 1871 to 1883, and was succeeded in course by Mr. William Crocket and Dr. James R. Inch. A somewhat acute controversy took place in the Province over the Common Schools Act of 1871, which was carried through the Legislature by the Hon. George E. King—now

* The Hon. P. Boucher de la Bruére, in *Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country*, vol. 3, p. 24.

a Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada. By this measure all the property of the Province was made subject to assessment for the support of non-sectarian and free schools. The Roman Catholics naturally opposed it, and also, unfortunately, a large class who disliked direct taxation, even for educational purposes. Mr. King was thus trying to do for New Brunswick what Dr. Tupper had done in 1864 for Nova Scotia. Eventually the matter was settled by a compromise under which Roman Catholic teachers, Sisters of Charity, etc., could be employed in the public schools subject to the passing of similar examinations and the same inspection as all other teachers. The plan has worked well, and beween 1877 and 1896 the number of schoools increased by over four hundred and the pupils by six thousand.

The storm centre in educational matters, however, during a portion of this period was the little Province of Manitoba. Under the system established in 1871 the schools were managed by a joint Roman Catholic and Protestant Committee in much the same manner as in Quebec. But the two Sections did not work well together, and in 1876 the Protestant one pronounced in favour of the abolition of Catholic Separate Schools. Various modifications of the original system were made, but no really serious change occurred until 1890 when, under the initiative of the stormy petrel of Manitoba politics, as he afterwards was of

British Columbia—Mr. Joseph Martin—the Separate Schools were abolished and the management of education transferred to a Government Department. A political storm followed which aroused bitter sectarian feeling and even threatened to set the Provinces against one another upon religious lines owing to the transference of the question to Dominion Courts and the Dominion Parliament. Incidentally it secured the Greenway Government in power through the support of the Protestant majority in Manitoba and defeated the Tupper Government at Ottawa through its disintegrating effect upon the Conservative party. The legality of the legislation was twice tested before the highest Courts of Canada and the Empire, and eventually the Dominion Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Provincial Ministry of Mr. Greenway reached a kind of mild compromise by which the Roman Catholics were allowed certain of their old-time and minor privileges, but with the generally secular character of the public schools conserved. The schools of this Province increased from 256 in 1883 to 1,032 in 1896, while the number of teachers rose by nearly nine hundred and the pupils by twenty-seven thousand in the same period.

The educational system of British Columbia was established in 1872 and amended in many important respects by the Provincial Acts of 1891 and 1896. The chief executive officer is the Minister of Education, assisted by a Chief Superintendent, and

British Columbia is thus the only Canadian Province which has followed the example of Ontario in placing education under political control. The progress made has been considerable and in the years between 1872 and 1896 the school districts increased from 25 to 193, the average daily attendance rose from a few hundreds to fourteen thousand and the expenditure from almost nothing to a couple of hundred thousand dollars. In the North-West Territories education is under the control of a Council of Public Instruction of a somewhat curious character. Four of its members belong to the Executive or Ministry, four are appointed and consist of two Roman Catholics and two Protestants. Over the vast extent of territory covered by the scattered population of these regions there were, in 1896, 366 schools with twelve thousand pupils, and the system seems to be working well. How much better it is than the ill-defined, unpopular, badly-equipped system of pioneer days in the older Provinces of the Dominion can easily be estimated. The pioneers of the prairies, with all their liability to severe cold, occasional damage to crops and the inevitable isolation of vast areas, have indeed had few privations and little suffering in comparison with those of their early predecessors in the Lake and Atlantic regions of Canada. And not the least of their advantages has been the possession of these improved educational facilities and of the zealous attention of great religious denominations in the older Provinces as well as in the Mother-land.

During this period higher education also made great progress in Canada, and in some of the Provinces perhaps received too much attention. Since Confederation five Ladies' Colleges have been organised in Ontario, several Catholic Colleges in Quebec, an Agricultural College at Guelph, in Ontario, and at Truro, in Nova Scotia, and a School of Practical Science in Toronto. Colleges of Music, Medicine, Dentistry have also been established. A Presbyterian and a Methodist College were founded in Winnipeg and the University of Manitoba was established in 1877 by a loose union of these institutions with the older Colleges of St. John and St. Boniface. Well-trained students have now for many years been turned out of the Universities in Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, Fredericton, Toronto, Kingston and Winnipeg in numbers which have steadily increased, until it has become a question in Canada how far the process is an economic advantage. Not finding sufficient openings in the small population at home for their superior educational qualifications, these students have drifted in very many cases to the neighbouring Republic and have thus proved a loss to the community as a whole and to the farms from which so many of them had come and to which their newly-trained tastes prevented a return. The high schools acted, of course, as feeders to the Universities, and, while no one can dispute the personal pleasure of a completed education and the advantage of Univer-

sity training in the diffusion of culture, it has become an undoubted problem in Canada how the recognition of this fact is to be combined with the retention of its young men in a community which must have workers other than those of an intellectual character and is primarily dependent upon the prosperity of its farms and the development of its soil. Like the rush of women into the cities, and into shops and factories, in preference to the adoption of domestic service or acceptance of the home life offered them by marriage within their own circles, this is a problem which has evolved in the Dominion during the last twenty years and will have to be faced in the next century.

It must be said, also, that if higher education has produced its problems, the public school system in Canada has not been without serious defects. Little or no attention is now paid to the manners of the children, respect to superiors or elders is not inculcated, and the desire to train boys in freedom of thought and speech has too often resulted in laxity, if not licence, of language and manner. The combination of politeness with perfect independence is not regarded, apparently, as an ideal condition for the Canadian schoolboy, and the hardly probable extreme of servility is avoided by the frequent evolution of the other extreme of rudeness. Too much grinding study is the characteristic of the public schools and at times children are dwarfed mentally and physically by the varied nature of their tasks

and the influence of a competition for place and position so extreme as to be painful in the case of the very young. There is not sufficient patronage given to the large private schools of the country or sufficient encouragement to the British ideal of cultivating character and manliness in boys as well as a knowledge of grammar and arithmetic. Upper Canada College, under the recent control of Dr. George R. Parkin, has become an exception to this rule and is rapidly taking its place, in fact as well as in popular designation, as a Canadian Eton. Probably, also, as population and wealth increase in the Dominion the patronage of this and other institutions of the kind will grow greater. Another serious fault in the public schools is the under-payment of the teachers in consequence of the intense competition for positions. High schools have to face a similar evil owing to the large number of University graduates available for any and every vacancy. Incidentally it may be said, with regret, that the spelling, pronunciation and grammar taught in the lower forms of Canadian schools is patterned very largely, though unconsciously, upon American models and ignores many of the niceties of the English language as cultivated in England, many of the delicate refinements of spelling and of speech to which English culture has attained, and many of the rules laid down by the best English authorities. Proximity may have made this process and result inevitable, but the fact is none the less to be deplored.

Social conditions, in the meantime, developed greatly under the changes of the three decades which have closed the pages of a century's history. The position of the farmers has been slightly referred to. In English-speaking centres the old-time Loyalist class with its official connections, hereditary sentiment and sympathetic touch with English social traditions, has largely passed away or else has experienced the loss of position which so often follows the loss of property or means. Successful merchants, well-to-do manufacturers and prosperous professional men have succeeded to its social place and traditions, and to these classes at the end of the century is due a society which has a curious commingling, in its customs and forms, of American freedom and English reserve. Yet Canada is not without old families and hereditary associations. Names such as Baldwin, Haliburton, Galt, Taché, Taschereau, Boulton, Cartwright, Jarvis, Robinson, Denison, Tupper, Molson, Blake, Lotbinière, De Salaberry and Sewell occur at once in this connection to any one familiar with the history of the various Provinces. The fact is particularly apparent in Quebec where families still frequently maintain a position of hereditary distinction and where the old Seigneurial system still lives in a social sense. Amongst the *habitants* of that Province there has been little change in custom or character during this period. They remain like a piece of mediæval Europe imbedded in the heart of a bust-

ling continent, although here and there some travelling "Jean Baptiste" comes back every now and then from an American industrial town swaggering in the clothes and crude ideas of an extraneous civilisation and for a time gives to his village a new excitement and a glimpse of other conditions. As a whole, however, the *habitant* is still the cheerful, irresponsible, excitable, moral and religious peasant of fifty and a hundred years ago.

Montreal has become the commercial and financial metropolis of the Dominion. Here centres the business of the Bank of Montreal—the largest banking institution on the continent. Here are the headquarters of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its vast interests. Here still exists a connection with the old-time fur trade through the Hudson's Bay Company. Here are many of the greater wholesale houses of the country and the transportation companies which control the Canadian traffic on the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic. Here are immense manufacturing concerns employing much *habitant* labour and making occasional millionaires. Montreal is emphatically the seat of social wealth; Toronto is representative of people with what might be termed moderate means; Halifax still holds the military society of Canada; Winnipeg and Vancouver have all the mixed elements characteristic of rapidly growing Western cities; Victoria constitutes in custom and character a typical English town on Canadian soil. Ottawa is the

seat of Government and the centre of Vice-regal hospitalities which vary in lavishness, in display and in degrees of dignity with each occupant of Rideau Hall. Its society is interesting during the Sesssion of Parliament, but at other times loses largely the cosmopolitan and mixed caracter so typical of a national capital. The labouring classes in Canada are perhaps the most generally contented and comfortable to be found anywhere. Trade Unions and Labour organisations of all kinds flourish, but upon the whole relations between employers and working-men are not strained. Strikes have never been numerous, and violence seldom marks those which have occurred. There was for a time a tendency to combine the labour and fraternal organisations of Canada with the immense concerns of the United States, but at the close of the century there are marked evidences of a desire to draw away from the connection thus formed with the great problems of American industrial life.

Meanwhile other elements in the making of a nation, or in the moulding for good or ill of national characteristics, have been evolving in Canada. The creation of a literature and journalism which has been formative in nature and illustrative in character of the life of the people has latterly been marked. Unfortunately it has still to be described as a broken and divided development—two streams of English and French thought running side by side and never mixing. With the coming of Confederation there

was a period of very slow growth in the English branch of Canadian literature. The process was dependent upon the educational influence of the newspapers, and the latter, for a long time, were more intent upon the material ends of national life—questions of transportation and constitution-making—than upon the cultivation of flowers of poetry or the seeking out of germs of literary ability. Henry J. Morgan, G. Mercer Adam, Dr. Alpheus Todd, Dr. W. H. Withrow, W. J. Rattray, Dr. George Stewart, Dr. J. George Hodgins, did good service in these earlier years to general literature and under most trying conditions of public indifference to all Canadian efforts in that direction. Charles Sangster, William Kirby, John Reade, Mrs. Leprohon, James de Mille and others endeavoured to uphold the lamp of romance and poesy. Isabella Valancey Crawford, after one flash of genius and beautiful poetic creation, died of disappointment as Keats had done in another country and another period.

Gradually, however, the change came. With the growth of genuine Canadian sentiment came an appreciation of things Canadian, a keener interest in the past of Canada, a fuller comprehension of the beauties and potentialities of its vast Dominion. Dr. William Kingsford, in 1888, undertook the preparation of a History of Canada in most elaborate form and from all available documentary data. He finished the work in ten volumes, in 1898, and shortly afterwards died. His completed undertak-

ing constitutes a monument of ceaseless research and exertion and is a mine of valuable information. Sir John George Bourinot, in magaine and pamphlet and constitutional volume, won his way to reputation and rank. Dr. Goldwin Smith in essay and newspaper argument, book and pamphlet, poured out a stream of literary production which, while often alien in sentiment and incurring bitter controversial opposition, yet helped by its lucid English and almost perfect style to develop culture and classical taste in the community. At the same time, it must be said, his writings frequently had the opposite effect by adding fuel to the flames of a sufficiently violent style of Colonial journalism. The most important of Canadian biographical works, from the standpoint of documentary detail, is Mr. Joseph Pope's *Memoirs of Sir John A. Macdonald,* published in 1894. From 1880, onwards, public appreciation of local literary effort steadily increased, and between 1890 and 1900 it has reached a stage of which the pioneers in Canadian literature could hardly have dreamed. Mrs. Everard Cotes, Miss Lily Dougall, Edmund E. Sheppard, Charles G. D. Roberts, J. Macdonald Oxley, W. D. Lighthall, Mrs. S. Frances Harrison, William McLennan, Miss Marshall Saunders and, most prominent of all, Gilbert Parker, have obtained rank in the literature of romance. Mr. Parker, in particular, has won a reputation as wide as the English-speaking world. In Quebec the chief names of this period

are those of Louis Fréchette, the most brilliant poet of his people, Sir James Le Moine, the cultured historical student and writer who dwells on the banks of the St. Lawrence, not far from the Heights of Abraham, M. Faillon, L'Abbé Gosselin, Mgr. C. Tanguay and H. R. Casgrain. Poets of taste and beauty of expression French Canada has produced, in a greater degree of numerical excellence than has been possible elsewhere in the Dominion.

Journalism in Canada can hardly be said to have kept pace with literature in its development. Whatever the faults of the latter, and in a young country they must always be sufficiently numerous, it has at least aimed high and has tried to follow the best English models. But the papers of Canada have fallen, to some extent, into beaten paths of American style and taste and manner without being possessed of the immense backing of wealth and energy which makes even the most wretchedly sensational New York sheet a somewhat marvellous creation. There are exceptions, of course, and at least half a dozen great dailies in the Dominion maintain a curious balance between English solidity and accuracy and American sensational and "slap-dash" journalism. And there is also, beneath the surface, a very saving grace of honour and self-respect which, in spite of appearances and exaggerations and political personalities, is steadily growing stronger. It is greatly to the credit of Canada that the more distinct these qualities are the more influential has been the paper.

That the press, as a whole, has been controlled by patriotic motives is apparent from the ease with which racial and religious strife can be stirred up by unscrupulous journals in a country having two races and rival creeds and by the few occasions in which such an influence has really been uppermost. For the rest, increasing education and capital and closer intimacy with British methods and British style may be expected to steadily improve a system of journalism which is better now than that of the United States, though not yet upon the same level as the experienced and dignified press of the United Kingdom. In Quebec journalism is essentially different in scope and character from that of the rest of the Canadian community. It is French, with a strong dash of Provincialism. It is of the soil, yet with many qualities alien to the general environment of the people. It is Canadian, and loyal as a whole to British connection, without being British. The newspaper men of the Province are and have been of a peculiarly brilliant type, and from its Editorial chairs have come many political leaders, eloquent speakers and successful lawyers. Incidentally a curious phase of Canadian public life, and one not always beneficial, may be found in the fact that some of the prominent journalists of Quebec are Frenchmen from Paris and not French-Canadians in the true sense of that complex word.

Closely and naturally associated with literature and journalism is the growth of art and musical cul-

ture. The best that can be said of Canada in this respect is that these are cultivated tastes, and for their full fruition require the leisure which only comes to matured communities and the wealth which only results from a fairly developed country. Toward the end of the century both these conditions are becoming apparent, and with this stage in Canadian development native artists and musicians are beginning to be appreciated and understood. Peel, Sandham, Vogt, Edson, Eaton, Fraser, Ward, Bourassa, Jacobi, O'Brien, Harris, have all contributed to the progress now apparent; and the magnificent resources in Canada's vast mountains, varied lake and river and forest and island scenery, and pastoral, ranching and hunting views, are being slowly exploited. In this process much good has come from the Royal Canadian Academy, founded in 1879 by the Marquess of Lorne, just as the pursuit of literature and science has been greatly aided by the foundation in 1881 of the Royal Society of Canada. Sculpture has found its chief expression in busts and statues of eminent men and in the representation of various religious subjects for church edifices in the Province of Quebec. The most notable examples of statuary in the Dominion are the memorials to Sir John A. Macdonald in Toronto, Hamilton, Montreal and Ottawa, the statue of the Queen at Montreal, of Sir George Cartier at Ottawa, of George Brown at Toronto and of General Brock at Queenston. In music and song Canada, since Con-

federation, has been proud of having produced Madame Albani-Gye, and the French-Canadian part of its population sings Sir George E. Cartier's beautiful "Canada mon pays, Mes Amours," while English-Canadians delight in Alexander Muir's "Land of the Maple Leaf." The cities of the country have done much of late years to encourage musical taste by school instruction, by the formation of Colleges of Music, by the organisation of Orchestras and Choral Societies and by the presentation of the works of great composers. And, while the Dominion has produced no great names in musical composition, it has undoubtedly developed a good standard of musical culture.

In other branches of national life progress has been even more marked. To the Militia, or Volunteer, system which so distinctly differentiates the English-speaking world from other nationalities Confederation naturally gave a great impetus. Very wisely, the command of the forces in Canada (now numbering about 40,000 men) was left in the hands of an Imperial officer, and to the eight men who have since held that position much has been due—more than will even yet be admitted by those who, unfortunately, have appeared to prefer a locally and politically controlled Militia to one absolutely independent of partisanship. Over a million dollars has been annually spent in maintaining the system, and the men have proved their efficiency during the Fenian Raids, the North-Wset Rebellions and

upon the battle-grounds of South Africa. Imperial troops, under a Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in British America, have been maintained at Halifax and Esquimault. During the last years of the century and by the active efforts of Major-General E. T. H. Hutton, reforms of various kinds have been effected in the Militia with a view to strengthening it as an arm of the military force of the Empire. Incidentally the system has had a great influence in promoting, as well as expressing patriotism, and the most ardent lover of peace cannot but appreciate how great a factor in unifying scattered peoples and settlements, or distant Provinces and countries, is a national Militia or a common Army and Navy.

Industrial life has had a remarkable expansion during the thirty years following Confederation. Woollens and cottons, agricultural implements and paper and pulp manufactures are largely the product of this period. The loom and the spinning-wheel have given place, except in a few old-fashioned communities, to large mills and industrial establishments, while raw material is every year imported to a greater extent and more and more manufactured goods are exported. In 1898, a million and a quarter dollars' worth of Canadian grey cottons were sent to far-away China, while Canadian implements now largely control the Australasian market and the product of its pulp and paper mills promises to rival the one-time greatness of its timber trade. Between

1881 and 1891 the number of industrial establishments in Canada increased by 25,000, the capital employed by $190,000,000, the number of employés by 116,000, the wages paid by $40,000,000 and the value of the total output by $16,000,000. Perhaps, however, the feature of Canadian development which has attracted most attention abroad is duction. British Columbia in the " fifties," and onward, produced some fifty millions of gold by the the sudden expansion of mining activity and proprocess of placer mining, but the excitement of the first discoveries died out after a time and in the course of years the production dwindled down to a small annual figure. Then came the mineral epoch of 1896, when the great gold-ore resources of the Kootenay regions were made known and the Arctic regions of the Canadian Yukon found to be practically paved with precious metal. Rossland and countless mineral centres grew up in British Columbia almost in a night, Dawson City soon held an ice-bound population of thousands in the distant Yukon and the world rang with stories of unequalled wealth. The first excitement has now died away, and in both these regions mining has settled down upon a substantial basis with yearly increased results. The annual production of the Dominion in all minerals has risen from twenty to forty millions in value, while enormous and uncounted quantities of gold dust have passed out of the country in the hands of American miners.

Meantime progress has been equally evident in other directions and may be briefly summarised. The number of Post Offices in the Dominion increased, between 1868 and 1898, by fifty-six hundred; the number of letters, under constantly decreasing rates, rose from eighteen millions to one hundred and thirty-five millions and the newspapers in an equal proportion; the tonnage of Canadian shipping rose by four millions and the number of the vessels by six thousand; the imports doubled and the exports trebled in value; the balance in the Post Office savings banks increased from a few thousands to thirty-four millions of dollars, and the asssets of the chartered banks rose from seventy-seven to three hundred and sixty-five millions. By the Census of 1891 there were 28,537,000 acres of land under cultivation. The net Public Debt—mainly expended upon railways, canals and other public improvements—rose from $75,757,135 in 1868 to $263,956,399 in 1898. During the same period the revenues of the Dominion increased from thirteen to forty millions. Meanwhile the Provincial debts had risen from nothing to thirty millions * and the Provincial revenues from five to twelve millions. One of the most striknq features in this summary is that relating to banking. Through an exceedingly flexible bank-note system and the main-

* The Provincial indebtedness has, with some exceptions, been incurred in opening up new country and backwood regions by means of roads, bridges, railways, etc.

tenance by each large bank of many branches the paper money of the country has been made singularly easy of application to the requirements of a greatly scattered population. The circulation is satisfactorily guaranteed and secured, the confidence of the public in the banks is absolute, their capital is large, the profits made are considerable, and the system has worked so well as to justify Canadians in regarding it as one of the highest and best evidences of their national advancement. It is perhaps the most perfect system in its application to the conditions of the people and the country which is anywhere to be found. In 1898 there were six hundred and forty-one branches, scattered from Halifax to Vancouver and the Yukon, of the thirty-eight Canadian banks. In that year their total paid-up capital was sixty-two millions, the notes in circulation thirty-seven millions, the deposits two hundred and thirty-six millions and the discounts two hundred and twenty-three millions of dollars. Canadian insurance against fire in 1898 showed a total of nearly seven hundred millions, of which two-thirds was carried by British Companies. The life insurance carried in Canada by Canadian Companies showed the striking increase, between 1868 and 1898, of five to two hundred and twenty-five millions. British Companies increased their business from sixteen to thirty-six millions and American Companies from thirteen to one hundred and five millions.

With all these varied forms of development going on in the Dominion it may fairly be concluded that Canada should stand upon the threshold of another century in a spirit of hope and confidence. In 1800 it appeared as a tiny population of pioneers scattered along the northern frontiers of a hostile nation; environed by the shadow of gloomy forests and the sound of savage life; with the loneliness of a vast wilderness away to the farthest north and west. The past was painful, the present was only relieved by a patriotic fire in the hearts of the Loyalists and by the cheerful hopefulness characteristic of their race in the breasts of the French, while the future was veiled behind dense clouds of evident personal privation and the utter absence of common popular action. In 1900 it stands as a united people of between five and six millions with a foundation, well and truly laid, of great transportation enterprises, of a common fiscal policy and a common Canadian sentiment. It boasts a greatly expanded trade and commerce, a growing industrial production, increasing national and Provincial revenues, a wiser and better knowledge of its own vast resources, a steady promotion of settlement, and the continuous opening up of new regions in its seemingly boundless territories. Above all it has reached out beyond the shores of the Dominion into a practical partnership with the other countries of the British Empire and is sharing in a greatness and power which the wildest dream of a United Empire Loyalist in his log-

hut in the forest of a century since could never have pictured. To meet this apparent destiny, however, qualities must be cultivated such as those possessed by the settlers in pioneer days, and the narrowness of a superficial and vain-glorious democracy as carefully avoided as the subservient faults of a selfish despotism. If the people of Canada cultivate a strength of mind which eliminates boasting, a loyalty which avoids spread-eagleism, an educational system which reaches the heart as well as the intellect and trains the manners as well as the morals, a religious feeling which avoids bigotry and detests intolerance, a national sentiment which is not racial or Provincial but Canadian, an Imperial patriotism which widens the public horizon and strengthens the character of the people while it elevates the politics of the country, that future seems to the finite vision to be reasonably assured.